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THE LIFE OF
WILLIAM PITT
EARL OF CHATHAM

VOL. II.

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William Pitt. Earl of Chatham
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THE LIFE OF
WILLIAM PITT
EARL OF CHATHAM

BY

BASIL WILLIAMS

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II.

WITH PORTRAIT AND MAPS

SECOND IMPRESSION

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
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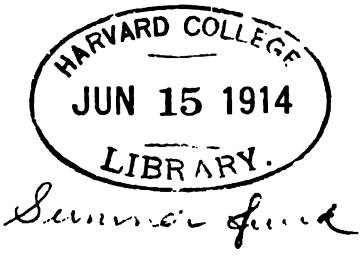

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LIFE OF WILLIAM PITT

CHAPTER XIV

THE CROWNING MERCIES

What may not then our Isle presume,
While victory his crest does plume?
What may not others fear,
If thus he crowns each year?
ANDREW MARVELL—*Ode on Cromwell.*

I.—ANNUS MIRABILIS

'OUR bells are worn threadbare with ringing for victories,' wrote Walpole of that year of marvels, 1759: 'les François malheureux dans les quatre parties du monde,' was the title of a chapter in Voltaire's 'Siècle de Louis XV'[1]: while Garrick sang in his 'Hearts of Oak':

Come, cheer up my lads! 'tis to glory we steer,
To add something more to this wonderful year;

and two gentle old ladies, living at Bath, recalled years afterwards to their friend Lord Chatham the excitement felt in the remotest corners of England 'when our fleets and armies conquered everywhere. We have a newspaper,' they wrote, 'that comes out of London that morning; when the boy blows his horn we are all expectation.'[2]

The year opened with the announcement of Keppel's capture of Goree in the last days of 1758.[3] Six weeks

[1] Voltaire's first idea was to head it 'Les Anglais victorieux dans les quatre parties du monde.'—See Grafton *Memoirs*, p. 11.

[2] *Chatham MSS.* 65 (Lady Lucy Stanhope and Miss Trevor to Lord Chatham).

[3] On December 29. See vol. i, p. 363. The news arrived in London on January 27, 1759.

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later Pitt heard that Hopson had landed at Basseterre in Guadeloupe,[1] but he had to wait until June 13 for news of the island's complete reduction. Hopson himself made little progress in dislodging the French from their inland fastnesses, but on his death his successor, Barrington, harried them to such purpose that on May 2 they were forced to surrender the island. The victory came not a moment too soon. Hardly had the French surrendered when they heard that Bompart, eluding Commodore Moore, had appeared on the coast with reinforcements under General Beauharnais, which would have enabled them to beat Barrington's force, now considerably reduced by sickness. The reinforcements were actually landed but returned to the ships on finding the English in possession. In the following month Marie Galante, a small island to the south of Guadeloupe, also surrendered to Moore and Barrington. Pitt had previously ordered them to seize St. Lucia, but on learning that the harbourage at Guadeloupe would serve all the purposes for which he required St. Lucia, approved of their decision not to venture on such an enterprise that season. The conquest of Guadeloupe fully compensated for the failure at Martinique. Within a year the island was sending to England sugar worth £425,000 and offering a market for English wrought iron,[2] while greater control over the French privateers could be exercised from its harbour. But it was chiefly valuable in Pitt's eyes to hold as a pledge for the recovery of Minorca without the sacrifice of any of his precious Canadian conquests.

The capture of Marie Galante was announced in London on Sunday, August 5, but this news was eclipsed on the Monday by tidings of the glorious victory of Minden. During 1759 Prince Ferdinand had been set the hard task of holding his ground with an army of 53,000 against Contades on the Rhine with 80,000 and Broglie with 20,000 in Hesse. He had been driven out of Hesse by Broglie and in July had lost to Contades Münster and Minden, which guarded the approach to Hanover.[3] But Contades was no match for Ferdinand in generalship.

[1] See vol. i, p. 392.

[2] See the interesting trade returns during Pitt's Ministry and before in *Lansdowne House MSS.* 102 (*Revenue*).

[3] See vol. i, p. 408.

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He loitered in camp at Minden instead of marching into Hanover and allowed Ferdinand to take up a strong position a few miles north of him on the Weser, covering his base of supply at Bremen; Contades in alarm called up Broglie to help him and thus exposed his own communications with Hesse. Thereupon Ferdinand at once sent his nephew the hereditary prince to cut off Contades's supplies from Paderborn in the south, a manœuvre successfully accomplished on August 1. On the same day Contades needlessly abandoned his strong positions to the south and east of Minden to attack Ferdinand on marshy ground unfavourable to himself. Ferdinand, who had only 42,000 men to face Contades's 54,000, was ready for him. Leaving most of his German troops and his artillery to secure the line of the Weser, he met the French attack with his English infantry, the Hanoverian guards, and some Hessians. The brunt of the battle fell on the six English battalions that still bear Minden on their colours.[1] Unwavering before the fire of the massed French artillery they withstood three charges of the French cavalry, then slowly advanced, driving the left wing of the French army before them. Fresh troops came up, and the French retreat was turned into a rout. Unfortunately at this stage in the battle the allied cavalry failed Ferdinand. Their commander, Lord George Sackville, was 'disobliged' and chose this occasion to vent his spleen. Pretending to misunderstand Prince Ferdinand's orders to charge the French when they first began to yield ground, he refused to budge till the favourable moment had passed. But, in spite of the disgrace Sackville thus brought on himself rather than on the British cavalry, Prince Ferdinand's victory was decisive for that campaign. The French lost 8,000 men and over forty pieces of cannon; the fugitives, cut off by the hereditary prince from their base of supply, streamed through Minden and dispersed over the country without order or discipline. Contades lost his baggage and in it a series of dispatches from the French War Minister, Belleisle, instructing him explicitly to burn and ravage without

[1] The 12th (Suffolks), 20th (Lancashire Fusiliers), 23rd (Welch Fusiliers), 25th (K.O.S.B.'s), 37th (Hants), 51st (K.O.Y.L.I.).

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pity the German territories he passed through. Pitt promptly published the whole correspondence, which did enormous mischief to the French cause in Europe. By the end of the year Ferdinand had recovered Münster and Cassel as well as Minden, had driven the French back to their cantonments of 1758, and, as Broglie and old Marshal Belleisle sorrowfully admitted, was able to impose his will on the armies of the Most Christian King.[1] Choiseul himself, in the first moment of humiliation, said the thought of Minden made him blush for the French army.[2]

Pitt exulted with boyish fervour at the news. He sent off a groom post-haste to tell his 'sweetest life' of the 'happy victory' which 'ne fait que crôitre et embellir: on se lasse de prendre des prisonniers,' he told her with savage glee, and gave a breathless epitome of the trophies, mules, cannon, baggage, and correspondence captured; Providence had 'blessed our immortal Ferdinand,' he said, and concluded with the prayer that a 'happy peace may wind up the glorious work and heal a bleeding world.' London was no less joyful. Every house was illuminated, every street had two bonfires and every bonfire two hundred squibs, while the noise from morning till night left Horace Walpole without any ears. Even before the victory Pitt had determined to send more reinforcements to Germany and, much to Newcastle's delight, had proposed it in the Closet 'properly and judiciously';[3] soon afterwards he sent enough men to make good the infantry losses at Minden. But the news that followed Minden somewhat damped the national enthusiasm. Frederic the Great's own numbers had been diminished by the last strenuous campaign, while Austrians, Russians, Swedes again encompassed him in undiminished force. On August 12 he once more had to defend his capital against Russians, reinforced by Austrians, at Kunersdorff, and after a battle lasting twelve hours was thoroughly beaten. Half his army was destroyed, the rest dispersed, Frederic himself thought of suicide and delegated his command to his brother, and even when he recovered his

[1] Waddington, iii, 109. [2] *Ibid.* 88.
[3] *Add. MSS.* 32908, f. 402.

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wonted courage, felt that all his hope of salvation rested on the firm support of Mr. Pitt.[1]

Kunersdorff to some extent neutralized the political effect of Minden: the tale brought over from Germany of the sorry part played by Sackville on the field of battle struck a blow at the national pride in the victory. When Sackville, stung by Ferdinand's openly expressed contempt, asked and obtained leave to return home, he was received as a coward. Pitt had been on the best of terms with Lord George from their common association with the Prince of Wales's court, and had held his military qualities in high esteem—so much so that on news of Marlborough's death in Germany he had insisted on having Sackville's commission as his successor signed on the following day.[2] Though Pitt may have felt some private compunction on this account, he did not allow it to influence him further than to obtain his old friend's recall in the form of a permission instead of an order, being willing 'to give him, as a most unhappy man, all the *offices of humanity*, which our *first, sacred* object, . . . the public good, will allow.' But after sifting the matter he felt compelled, when Sackville wrote to thank him for his good offices,

> to deal frankly on this very unhappy and delicate occasion, where delusion might prove dangerous. Give me leave, then, to say, that I find myself . . . under the painful necessity of declaring my infinite concern at not having been able to find either from Captain Smith's conversation, or from your own state of facts, room, as I wished, for me to offer my support, with regard to a conduct which, perhaps, my incompetence to judge of military questions leaves me at a loss to account for.

The court-martial claimed by Sackville himself, after he had been deprived of all his military employments, declared him unfit to serve the King in any further capacity.[3] This

[1] *Pol. Corr.* xviii, 493, 512, 587.

[2] *Add. MSS.* 32885, Pitt to Duke of Newcastle, October 30, 1758.

[3] A good summary of the evidence of the court-martial is given in Manners, *Granby*. The impression left by it is that Sackville was not a coward, but, thinking himself as good a man as Ferdinand, did not try to reconcile a slight discrepancy between orders brought by two English aides-de-camp successively, and ignored that of a third, German, aide-de-camp, as 'of no status in the British army.'

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judgment was read out to every regiment at home and abroad;

that officers [said Pitt in his instructions] may be convinced that neither high birth nor great employments can shelter offences of such a nature, and see they are subject to censure much worse than death to a man who has any sense of honour.

While in England Pitt and the King were strong enough thus to make an example of Sackville, in France Contades was too much of a favourite at Court to suffer for his gross incompetence until the whole of Hesse had been lost, when he was at last superseded by Broglie. Though Pitt's uncompromising sternness was happy for England he had to pay for it. He not only made an enemy of Sackville, whose personal connections gave him importance, but he deeply offended Bute and the Prince of Wales, who made the greatest efforts to save their friend and continued to countenance him in spite of the disgrace he had brought on himself and the army.[1]

Fresh victories now came to wipe away for the time the memory of Sackville. Rodney made several attempts to destroy the flat-bottomed boats which were to bring over the invaders. He bombarded Havre and damaged stores collected in the town, and, though he was unable to reach the boats in the inner harbour, he did enough damage to show Choiseul that without a supporting fleet his boats could never expect even to put to sea. Boscawen and Brodrick had been blockading de la Clue's squadron in Toulon from May to early July to prevent his getting round to Conflans at Brest.[2] They retired to Gibraltar to re-victual early in July, but de la Clue wasted a whole precious month of this respite in Toulon and only put to sea on August 5, with his twelve ships and three frigates. He passed the Straits of Gibraltar under cover of darkness on the 16th, but the next day was discovered

[1] Shelburne (i, 246) relates that George II, anticipating the House of Commons's action about Wilkes, urged Pitt to get Sackville expelled from the House. Pitt refused, knowing he would be re-elected for some family seat. 'Then I do wish Mr. Pitt joy upon the company he wishes to keep,' retorted the downright old monarch.

[2] See vol. i, pp. 407–8.

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by the guardship at Cape Espartel. When the first alarm was given on the evening of the 17th Boscawen and many of his officers were dining with the Spanish governor of St. Roque, most of the sailors were on shore, several of the English ships were still under repair and the rest had sails unbent in Gibraltar Roads. Within three hours the fleet was out at sea in hot chase of de la Clue. One of the French ships was captured, two escaped, the remaining four ran ashore under some Portuguese batteries near Lagos: of these, two, including the flagship, were burned, the others were cut out and taken off as prizes by the English. The remaining eight of de la Clue's squadron had taken refuge in Cadiz; here they were discovered by Brodrick and closely blockaded until the beginning of 1760, when they made their escape back to Toulon. Thus half Choiseul's great fleet to cover his invasion of England was put out of action before the preparations were ready, and the Mediterranean was entirely at the mercy of the English fleets.

On September 8 news of American victories began to come in. In the spring Amherst, leaving Wolfe and Saunders to their independent command on the St. Lawrence, had divided the troops left to him into three detachments. Stanwix was sent with 4000 [1] to relieve the small garrison left by Forbes at Fort Duquesne—now Pittsburg; Prideaux with 5000 to capture Fort Niagara, which commanded the communications between Lakes Erie and Ontario; while Amherst himself, with the main body of 11,000—half regulars, half provincials—advanced once more on Ticonderoga. Montcalm wisely kept most of his men to withstand the main attack on Quebec, leaving some 5000 only to hold Amherst and Prideaux in check. Ticonderoga, so fatal to Abercromby the year before, was evacuated on Amherst's approach on July 23, and eight days later Crown Point, at the head of Lake Champlain,

[1] He ought to have had over 7000, but the southern provinces sent less than half the numbers expected of them (see Kimball, ii, 132). Pitt, though tender of the colonials' just susceptibilities, could be severe enough on their misdeeds. In the following year he wrote to the Marylanders, who had been especially remiss in their levies, requiring 'that they will not again presume to fail in their duty to the King, as they have hitherto done.'

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was likewise abandoned by the French. By the same packet that brought this news came dispatches announcing the reduction of Niagara, and the three other small forts still remaining to the French south of Ontario. So far so well: but still no news of Wolfe and Saunders. The last time they were heard of was when they were off Cape Breton on June 6. Another month of suspense and then, on October 14, came dispatches, written on the 2nd and 5th of September. These contained cold comfort for Pitt after his anxious waiting.

When Wolfe came to take stock of his men at Louisburg in the beginning of June, he found that the 12,000 promised him had dwindled to under 9000.[1] These 9000 were the flower of the British army, trained for colonial warfare in more than one campaign and enthusiastically confident in the man of resource and daring who was to lead them; but they were none too many to capture the fortress of Quebec—deemed almost impregnable and held by about 15,000 French soldiers. Durell had been sent on ahead, too late to blockade the river but in time to gain useful information. On June 4 Saunders started from Louisburg with twenty-two of his men-of-war and 119 transports. He had taken every precaution to ensure success in his hazardous voyage. Some defective French charts of the river, discovered by Boscawen in 1755, were supplemented by the information of captured French pilots and the yet more valuable soundings taken by James Cook, master of H.M.S. *Pembroke*.[2] Not a chance was overlooked by Saunders in his sailing orders, which gave the minutest directions as to the order of advance and all the signals to be shown by day and by night in the perilous navigation of the river.[3] Thanks to this forethought and to the spirit of the men the voyage was accomplished without a casualty. At the most dangerous

[1] Record Office—*A. and W.I.*, 88 (table attached to Wolfe's dispatch of June 6). With the 5000 merchant seamen and the 13,000 sailors of the fleet the English force came to 27,000. (Wood, *The Fight for Canada*, 330–1.)

[2] James Cook was the famous explorer who, after serving before the mast in the merchant service, obtained his master's certificate in the Royal Navy in 1757 at the age of thirty. For Cook's charts of the St. Lawrence see Wood, *Logs of the Conquest of Canada*.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 97 *sqq.*, for these sailing orders.

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passage, named the Traverse, the master of one of the transports insisted on navigating his ship without the aid of the pilot, as a proof, he said, that 'an Englishman shall go where a Frenchman dare not show his nose'; and, having safely steered his course, remarked 'Damn me, if there are not a thousand places in the Thames fifty times more hazardous than this; I am ashamed that Englishmen should make such a rout about it.' On June 26 the fleet arrived off the Ile d'Orléans, in the middle of the St. Lawrence; some four miles below Quebec. From this station the citadel could be seen standing high on a promontory above the river, with the commercial town below. The main French army was encamped on the five miles of rocky coastline between the Rivers St. Charles and Montmorency, which flow into the St. Lawrence north-east of the town. Montcalm's plan was to remain strictly on the defensive; he had sent his men-of-war into safety above Quebec, keeping only a few merchantmen to use as fire-ships, and while the main army defended any approach from the Ile d'Orléans, the batteries in Quebec commanded the narrow channel opposite the town.

To reach Quebec at all was a great feat, but for the next two months of July and August Wolfe and Saunders made little progress. From Pointe Lévis opposite Quebec Wolfe battered the lower town and mastered the guns of the citadel enough to allow four of Saunders's ships to pass through the channel and anchor above Quebec. But a joint naval and military attack on the main French positions between the St. Charles and the Montmorency was repulsed on July 31 with serious loss. During August expeditions were made to the outlying country and the fleet reconnoitred for landing-places above Quebec; but it seemed as hard as ever to come to grips with Montcalm. Nothing was heard of Amherst, who should have made a diversion against Montreal, even if he could not reinforce Wolfe at Quebec.[1] Wolfe himself was stricken with

[1] After the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point Amherst had been deplorably slow, stopping to build useless forts instead of pressing forward to Wolfe's assistance. Amherst never shirked his work, but on more than one occasion misjudged the relative importance of securing his ground and carrying off his object with a dash.

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fever, and on September 2 sent Pitt as desponding a letter as it was in his nature to write. After describing the events of the last two months he announced his intention of making a last effort to reach Quebec from above-stream according to a plan drawn up by his brigadiers. After providing garrisons for the Ile d'Orléans and Pointe Lévis he could only scrape together some 5000 men for this effort, so reduced was his force by sickness and casualties; against these 5000 Montcalm had nearly thrice as many. Wolfe, indeed, could not conceal from Pitt that he had small hopes of success: 'the affairs of Great Britain, I know, require the most vigorous measures, but then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favourable event.'[1] But Wolfe was not the man to conclude on so desponding a note.

You may be assured, Sir [thus he ended the last letter he wrote to Pitt], that the small part of the campaign which remains shall be employed (as far as I am able) for the honour of His Majesty and the interest of the nation, in which I am sure of being well seconded by the admiral and the generals. Happy, if our efforts here can contribute to the success of His Majesty's arms in any other parts of America.

Pitt received this letter on October 14 and at once sent it to the *Gazette*. He himself gave up all hope of success and said so publicly. But on October 16, two days later, before the country had time to realise that the great expedition to Quebec might prove another Sicilian adventure, despondency was turned into triumph mingled with grief. Quebec had been captured, but Wolfe was dead. Immediately after sending his dispatch of September 2, Wolfe had transported his 5000 men above Quebec and for a week kept Bougainville hurrying backwards and forwards along the shore by

[1] It is characteristic of Walpole's unfairness, where his personal prejudices are involved, that he takes this passage as a veiled excuse to Conway, whom Wolfe had blamed for his want of enterprise at Rochefort. There is obviously no parallel between the two cases. At Rochefort there was no danger—failure would have been the worst penalty for a rash attack; here annihilation was involved, for there was no possible retreat in case of failure: and Wolfe took the risk.

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his reconnaissances and feints of landing. By September 12 his final plans were laid. He decided to land at the Anse du Foulon, where he had seen a steep and narrow path, which seemed ill-defended, leading up to the Plains of Abraham above Quebec. His men were ready to do whatever he asked them,[1] and scarcely needed the inspiring words of his final order: 'The officers and men will remember what their country expects from them, and what a determined body of soldiers inured to war is capable of doing against five weak French battalions mingled with a disorderly peasantry!' Chance favoured Wolfe. Two deserters told him that some boatloads of provisions for Quebec were coming down the river that night. These boats had in fact been countermanded, but the French posts along the river had not been warned of the change. When, therefore, Wolfe's boats floated past them in the starlight, their answer in French deceived the sentries who challenged them. In one of the foremost boats Wolfe softly recited Gray's 'Elegy' to the officers near him, adding, 'Gentlemen, I would rather have written those lines than take Quebec.'[2] When the leading boatloads had been disembarked at the Anse du Foulon, twenty-four volunteers dashed up the path, while Wolfe sat below in the silence. A few musket shots rang out, then an English huzza was heard, and Wolfe knew the way was clear.

The whole 4500 chosen for the enterprise then climbed up the path, dragging two guns with them, and in the morning light fell into line on the Plains of Abraham. Montcalm was on the other side of Quebec when he heard the news. Collecting all the men he could, he crossed the St. Charles and brought them up for instant battle. The Frenchmen charged, the English waiting till they were within forty paces of them to let off their first volley. Two more volleys and then a charge turned the French advance into a headlong rout. Wolfe himself led the charge; he was struck in the wrist and went

[1] His brigadiers were not so trusting and had to be sharply reproved by Wolfe for their want of confidence in his judgment (see letters quoted in *Dictionary of National Biography*.)

[2] For a discussion of this incident see Wood, *The Fight for Canada*, 222, 320.

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on. Another shot struck him: he still went on. A third caught him full in the breast and laid him low. Dying, he was carried to the rear. As he lay there a man shouted, 'They run! see how they run.' 'Who run?' Wolfe had strength to ask. 'The enemy, Sir. Egad, they give way everywhere.' Wolfe gave his last order for cutting off the French retreat at the St. Charles River, then turned over, murmuring, 'Now, God be praised, I will die in peace!' Almost at the same moment his chivalrous rival, Montcalm, received his mortal wound: he lingered till next morning and was buried in front of the high altar of the Ursulines' Convent, in a hole ploughed up by an English shell.

Quebec was won this 13th day of September. With the death of Montcalm all brave and prudent counsel left the French. Vaudreuil drew off with the army, leaving only a feeble garrison, who on the 18th capitulated to Wolfe's successor Townshend.

Pitt at once published Townshend's dispatch announcing the conquest of Quebec in a *Gazette Extraordinary*, and wrote letters to Prince Ferdinand and many of his friends to let them know the good news. Townshend had barely said a word of regret for Wolfe's death, but the people of England were awed by their happy warrior's fall. Yet gladness in his victory prevailed. Addresses of congratulation poured in to the King, bonfires were lit in every town and village of England save Westerham, where the hero was born, and Blackheath, where his mother sat mourning her beloved son. A solemn service of thanksgiving, for which Pitt himself corrected the form of prayer, was held at St. Paul's. In America the joy came home to them even more. The New England Puritans and the southern colonists had all suffered from the Frenchmen's barbarous allies; all loathed the Government that encouraged them, and most of them had an intense aversion to the Roman Catholic religion of their Canadian neighbours. The chaplains who accompanied the provincial levies stirred up this religious hatred and roused their flocks with sermons against 'New France, the North American Babylon.' Wolfe himself had echoed their sentiments when he

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wrote in 1758, 'I own it would give me pleasure to see the Canadian vermin sacked and pillaged and justly repaid their unheard-of cruelty.'[1] '*Delenda est Carthago*, Canada must be conquered,' was the burden of the preachers' cry. In the hour of victory when they prophesied that the British American colonies, 'with the continued blessing of Heaven, will become in another century or two a mighty Empire,' they did not forget 'the valiant and good General Wolfe . . . who lives on every loyal tongue and lives in every grateful breast.'[2]

Pitt himself, in moving for a monument to Wolfe in West- November 21, 1759.
minster Abbey, pronounced a studied encomium on the dead hero. The General's transcendent merit, his conduct during the operations, the ability and valour with which he surmounted all obstacles of art and nature, his resolution in landing, his courage in the field, his loss to the public, the importance of his conquest, the blow given to the enemy, and the glory of Britain were the chief points in a speech which was seconded by a supporter who drew an apt parallel between the mover and his subject. Wolfe's appointment, he said,

> had been due to no parliamentary interests, no family connections, no aristocratical views; the general and the minister seemed to have been made for each other and there were circumstances almost similar between them: Wolfe lost his life and the minister had hazarded his head for the country.[3]

In October also came news of victories by Clive, Forde, and Pocock in the East Indies,[4] and at the end of November the great tidings of Hawke's destruction of Conflans's Brest fleet on the 20th, whereby England was freed from all fear of French invasion. Throughout a peculiarly stormy summer and autumn Hawke, with a fleet of twenty-four of the line, had been keeping watch on the Biscayan coast from Brest to Bordeaux. During the brief intervals when he was obliged

[1] *Historical. MSS.*, Stopford Sackville, ii, 264.
[2] See Parkman, *passim*, and Wood, *The Fight for Canada*, 324–6.
[3] See *A Review of Mr. Pitt's Administration*, 1763 (by Almon). Walpole says Pitt's speech was too studied and not one of his best.
[4] See below, pp. 25–6.

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to put back to England for repairs and re-victualling, Bompart and la Marnière slipped in,[1] and transports came from the other ports to swell the fleet at Brest. At last, on November 14, Hawke being at Torbay, Conflans with twenty-one of the line and five frigates put to sea. His idea was to sail to Quiberon and escort thence d'Aiguillon's transports with the invading host. But Hawke had left Commodore Duff with some fast cruisers to give him warning. On the 20th Conflans sighted some of Duff's cruisers off Quiberon Bay and at once gave the signal for action. Hardly had he done so when he became aware of a great fleet bearing down upon him. This was Hawke. Conflans instantly turned to seek shelter in the Bay, in the narrow passages and shoals of which he counted on eluding pursuit. Three years before the English Admiralty also would have thought him safe there, and had written of this very shore, 'the French perfectly knowing their own coasts, which enables them to keep near the shore and in shoal water, where we dare not follow them.'[2] But Hawke's blood was up. For months he had been vainly waiting for this fleet: now his chance had come, and though the risk of pursuit was great he decided without hesitation on taking it. Ordering a stern chase, in spite of a strong gale he pressed on under full canvas. Conflans with the van reached the Bay in safety, but his rearguard was caught up, and French and English ships rushed through the narrow passage locked pell-mell in a deadly embrace. The din was appalling, with the cannon firing, the wind blowing a hurricane, and the breakers roaring on the shoals and shore of the Bay. Till nightfall the battle raged, and then both fleets anchored where they were. During the next two days Hawke continued his destruction of the French ships caught in the Bay as in a trap. A few escaped and took refuge in the Charente above Rochefort; some, jettisoning their guns, crossed the bar of the Vilaine River, and were left stranded and useless on the mud; two, including Conflans's flagship, were burned on the shoals. Altogether, besides the ships stranded help-

[1] See vol. i, p. 407.
[2] Richmond, *Papers Relating to the Loss of Minorca.*

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lessly on the mud, the French lost six ships and 2500 men. Nor did this represent all the damage done them by Boscawen's and Hawke's victories. Their navy was so much weakened by these crushing blows that for the rest of the war it hardly dared to show itself upon the ocean.

The days of Mathews and Byng had now passed, and British sailors had learned to take risks. One of the finest examples of this new spirit—which was due to Anson no less than to Pitt—was Saunders's conduct at this conjuncture. Returning with six ships from the capture of Quebec he heard off the Lizard that Conflans was out with Hawke on his track. Without a thought for the rest that he had well earned, he turned aside within sight of England, writing a curt letter of apology to Pitt, which runs as follows:

SIR,—The Lizard now bearing N.W.N. distance 17 leagues (having with me the *Devonshire* and *Vanguard*), I am joined by Captain Phillips of the *Juno*, who informs me that the French fleet is at sea, and Sir Edward Hawke after them; I have therefore only time to acquaint you that I am making the best of my way in quest of Sir Edward Hawke, which I hope his Majesty will approve of.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect,
Sir,
Your most Obedient humble Servant,
CHAS. SAUNDERS.

Somerset at Sea, November 19, 1759.
Rt. Hon. W. Pitt, Esq.

Pitt carefully preserved the original of this letter:[1] it must have been after his own heart. Saunders arrived too late to take part in the glorious action of Quiberon Bay, but he was well rewarded when Pitt alluded to him in Parliament as 'the equal of those who have beaten armadas—nay, I will anticipate, one who will beat armadas.' November 23, 1759.

Of all the armadas destined to invade England Thurot's alone left French waters.[2] With his six small ships he sailed from Dunkirk on October 15, and, evading Boys, put in to Gottenburg. Early in 1760 he appeared before Londonderry and Belfast, landed at Carrickfergus, where the garrison

[1] *Chatham MSS.* 55. [2] See vol. i, p. 407.

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surrendered to him, and obtained provisions on requisition from Belfast. On sailing away again after this raid he fell into the arms of Captain Elliot from Kinsale, who captured Thurot's three remaining ships, after the plucky freebooter himself had been killed.

In his first round with Choiseul Pitt had carried all before him. Guadeloupe, Quebec, Masulipatam, Minden, Lagos, and Quiberon were all crowded into one amazing year, and Choiseul's great schemes for invading England, to which he had sacrificed Canada and India too, brought utterly to naught! Choiseul was no craven, and he had a proud confidence in his country, but even he began to think it might be well to patch up a peace, and gain a breathing space to prepare for the day of vengeance on which he counted. After Quiberon he made some offers through d'Aiguillon and allowed his envoy in Holland to initiate conversations with Yorke. But Vienna thought she held Frederic, and Pitt still had his conquests to complete: the talks therefore came to nothing.

II.—The Conquest of Canada and India

The year 1760 came to Pitt's contemporaries, drunk with the glories of 1759, as an anti-climax. But, though it brought no such brilliant victories, it rounded off the main conquests of the war. Bereft of the means of hindering Pitt, Choiseul early in 1760 saw whither he was tending. 'Mr. Pitt has planned to take all our American colonies this year,' he wrote in February to the French ambassador at Madrid. '. . . The conquest of Canada will be easy, since the King's finances do not enable him to send succour thither; next, England will seize Louisiana without difficulty'; Martinique, the Iles de France and de Bourbon, Pondichery and all the French establishments in India will then, he prophesied, fall into the conqueror's hands.[1] This in its main outlines represents

[1] A. Bourguet, *Le Duc de Choiseul et l'Alliance espagnole*, p. 91.

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Pitt's policy for 1760. Victory no less than defeat was an incentive to him; he was as eager to pursue an advantage as to retrieve a loss, and did not believe in resting on his laurels.

There is no such thing as chance [he declared, defending his activity]: chance is the unaccountable name of nothing. To pursue the war in all its parts is the only way to secure an honourable peace, and the least omission in any part might be fatal to the whole and bring the stone which we have almost brought to the summit rolling down the hill again. November 13, 1759

The reduction of Montreal was evidently 'the great and essential object remaining to complete the glory of His Majesty's arms in North America.'[1] Amherst was to be ready by May 1 to invade Canada, 'either in one body or by different operations . . . according to . . . emergent circumstances,'[2] the provinces were to raise their troops to the same numbers as last year, and Pitt had taken all the old precautions for the health of the men and the equipment of the expedition.[3] Then came a check which nearly upset all his plans. After the capture of Quebec, Murray, the third brigadier, had been left in charge of the dismantled fortifications with a garrison of 7500, for whom there was little food but a superfluity of strong drink. Early in December Pitt had ordered Amherst to send him supplies as soon as possible, but this had proved impossible during the winter. Meanwhile de Lévis, who had taken over the military command after Montcalm's death, had soon restored discipline and courage in the panic-stricken French troops, and had begun to lay his plans for the recapture of Quebec. On April 20, when Murray's garrison had been reduced by scurvy and exposure to less than half its original strength, he appeared on the heights west of the town. During the hard Canadian winter it had been impossible to repair the

[1] King's Speech, November 13, 1759.

[2] Though Pitt from policy gave his commanders a free hand, little escaped his notice in their conduct. Amherst had incidentally mentioned that General Gage had somewhat hastily retired from Fort La Galette in the previous autumn. Pitt at once demands a full explanation of what appeared to him an indefensible want of resolution.

[3] He especially insisted that rations of fresh meat should be issued to prevent scurvy.

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fortifications; for this reason and because 'our little army was in the habit of beating the enemy,' so Murray told Pitt, he decided to meet de Lévis in the open. On April 28 the French and English again met on the Plains of Abraham at St. Foy; the English offered a more stubborn resistance than the French had in September, otherwise the *rôles* were entirely reversed. Murray left a third of his men on the field and was driven back to Quebec to starve or be battered into surrender, unless help came in time.

'Who the deuce was thinking of Quebec?' exclaimed Horace Walpole when, instead of the capture of Montreal or some other victory, this defeat was announced in London on June 18. But prompt steps had been taken to retrieve it. Murray himself set his garrison cheerfully to the work of defence, Governor Lawrence of Halifax did all he could to hasten measures of relief, Amherst at once ordered reinforcements for Quebec, and Lord Colville's fleet, which had wintered at Halifax, had already started up the St. Lawrence. Pitt, true to his habit, immediately published the grave news in the *Gazette* and informed foreign courts of the reverse; then wrote to Lawrence approving of his presence of mind, and told Amherst he was confident that 'the late unhappy check . . . will but have animated the more your known zeal' and that 'no fatal catastrophe will have happened there.'

This confidence was justified. Murray repaired his ramparts as best he could and made ready for the French. But de Lévis came on slowly with parallels and all the paraphernalia of a set siege. Both sides were pinning their hopes to the first boat that came up the river when the ice had broken. On May 9 a ship could be seen from both camps sailing up to Quebec; but it showed no colours. At last to the straining eyes from Quebec and the Plains of Abraham a flag appeared at the masthead: it was unbent and the red cross of St. George fluttered in the breeze. From the walls of the beleaguered town men shouted themselves hoarse with joy, and they soon heard from Captain Deane of the *Lowestoffe*[1]

[1] Deane had made a remarkable passage from England, whence he had sailed on March 9, just two months previously.

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that he was being followed by Colville's squadron. On the 15th two more English ships appeared. On the 16th they destroyed the French flotilla; on the 17th de Lévis's army took flight, leaving Murray in possession of their camp and all their stores and cannon.

Murray at once sent the joyful news to Pitt. His dispatch arrived on June 27, only ten days after the tidings of disaster. In England the relief was immense, and the mob went about shouting, 'God bless the good news.' How deep, in spite of his bold front, had been Pitt's anxiety can be traced in the few lines he dashed off to his wife on that Friday morning:

> Join, my love, with me in most humble and grateful thanks to the Almighty. The siege of Quebec was raised on May 17. . . . Happy, happy day. My joy and hurry are inexpressible.

After this the fall of Montreal, where the French were making their last stand, was only a matter of time. de Lévis had barely 10,000 troops to pit against nearly double that number under Amherst. Early in July three English divisions began to converge on the capital: Murray from Quebec up the St. Lawrence, Haviland from Crown Point down Lake Champlain and the Richelieu river, and Amherst with the main body, 10,000 strong, from Fort Oswego, down the rapids of the St. Lawrence. Murray and Haviland were first at the meeting-place, Amherst having the most difficult journey, and also wasting some time in laying siege to petty fortresses on the way. But on September 6 Montreal was encompassed. On the 7th Amherst sent in his terms—that all Canada should be yielded to the King of England, protection and the free exercise of their religion being assured to the inhabitants, and that all the French troops in Canada should lay down their arms for the rest of the war. Vaudreuil and de Lévis pleaded to be allowed the honours of war, but Amherst would not hear of it.

> I am fully resolved [he answered the French envoy], for the infamous part the troops of France have acted in exciting the savages to perpetrate the most horrid and unheard-of barbarities in the whole progress of the war, and for other open treacheries and flagrant

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breaches of faith, to manifest to all the world by this capitulation my detestation of such practices.[1]

In spite, therefore, of de Lévis's continued protests, Amherst's hard terms were perforce accepted. To-day Canada has become as essential a part of the British Empire as Scotland itself, whence Pitt had called forth recent rebels to fight the French Canadians; and though the descendants of French and English settlers are each as proud as ever of their own race, they have learned to merge that racial pride in a common devotion to one country and one yet wider sovereignty.[2]

Within a year of the conquest of Canada Pitt had driven the French from nearly all their remaining possessions in the Western Hemisphere. On October 5, 1760, Major Barré had arrived in London with Amherst's dispatch; three weeks later Pitt had another 'important enterprise' for his general to carry through. A few apt words of praise for Amherst's 'masterly plan,' executed with such 'unwearied diligence,' and for the 'indefatigable constancy and intrepidity of the troops' were followed by orders to prepare for an attack either on Louisiana or on a West Indian island. Next day, October 25, the old King, George II, died suddenly and all plans were delayed; but in December Pitt ordered Amherst to make ready expeditions against Dominica, St. Lucia, and Martinique. There had been some talk of peace: all the more reason, said Pitt, to make 'an early impression on the enemy in America, [which] could not fail to have the most material and probably a decisive influence on the Court of France.' On May 3, 1761, the first expedition started from Sandy Hook under Lord Rollo; most of the transports were scattered by a storm, but Rollo and Sir James Douglas, the admiral on the Leeward Islands station, determined to attack Dominica with the few troops they had. On June 6 they landed, charged the French entrenchments

[1] See at end of this chapter a note on the use of Indians by the French and English during the Seven Years War.

[2] The Prime Minister of the British Dominion of Canada, speaking in London on August 2, 1912—over a century and a half later—said, 'I have come as representing a great dominion which was founded by two great races, . . . two races which are working together to-day in unison and harmony and in earnest co-operation to develop worthily their great heritage.'

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in the evening, and before nightfall were masters of the island. Douglas, reporting the exploit to Pitt, quaintly begins his letter: 'As this is the first time I have had the honour to write to Mr. Pitt it might require an apology for taking that liberty, but knowing you want none when the public service is concerned. . . .' Pitt praised them for their smart action and told them to prepare for the next expedition against Martinique. This was delayed for some months owing to the attack on Belleisle, which absorbed most of the available forces, until June 1761, but in September, shortly before his own resignation, Pitt had prepared all the plans and sent out Rodney to superintend the reduction of Martinique, Grenada, and St. Lucia. These islands were captured early in 1762, after Pitt had resigned but in conformity with his directions. By the end of the war Pitt had wrested from France in the New World, Canada, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Dominica, St. Lucia, and Grenada, leaving her only half San Domingo and the useless province of Louisiana.

The year 1760 also saw the last stage of the French domination in the East Indies. In the days of Pitt's grandfather the French were of little account there, but in the succeeding half-century they had seriously menaced the existence of the English company. The break-up of the Mogul power in 1708 had given a great opportunity to Europeans to profit from the dissensions and rivalries of the native rulers. Two Frenchmen, Bussy and Dupleix, had used it to the utmost. Bussy had established himself at Hyderabad, as king-maker in the most important court in India; Dupleix had proclaimed himself governor of the Carnatic, the strip of territory on which Madras and Fort St. David stood, as well as Pondichery: he and Labourdonnais had even captured Madras in the previous war. The first to inflict a blow on Dupleix's prestige was Robert Clive, a twenty-five-year-old clerk in the East India Company's service. In 1751 he had seized Arcot and defended it against all comers, and in 1752 with Major Lawrence routed an army led by Frenchmen.

In 1755, shortly before the formal declaration of war, Dupleix had been recalled and a truce patched up between

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the two companies. The French still enjoyed the prestige among the natives gained for them by Dupleix and Bussy, but their position was not really so secure as that of the English. In Bengal their factory at Chandernagore was less important than Calcutta, with its dependent settlements at Balasore, Patna, and Dacca. On the Coromandel Coast they had recently seized Masulipatam, an English factory in the Governor's day, and, further south in the Carnatic, their establishments at Pondichery and Karikal alternated with Madras and Fort St. David; but on the west coast they had abandoned their conquest of Surat and had nothing to counterbalance the English possession of Bombay, important as a trading centre and still more as a harbour of refuge for the fleets during the monsoon months, when the Coromandel Coast was too dangerous. During these months the French were obliged to send their ships 2000 miles away to Mauritius or Ile de Bourbon. Again, as in America, their system of administration was too dependent on the exigencies of the central government. The shareholders of the French company had a fixed interest guaranteed to them by the government out of the tobacco monopoly and consequently had no inducement to improve Indian commerce, and no voice in Indian affairs. The directors and the royal commissary were in fact state officials who often had more important matters to think of than India.[1] On the other hand the proprietors of the English company, though quarrelsome and amateurish in their methods, were proud of their charge and felt its responsibility. In war as in peace they had to raise their own native and European troops;[2] and were lucky if

[1] See Prosper Cultru, *Dupleix* (Paris, 1901), pp. 1–6.

[2] In 1752 the Company's force in India comprised 4846 Europeans, distributed as follows: Bengal, 389; Coromandel Coast, 1404; Bombay, 2530; Bencoolen, 289; St. Helena, 234. (*Chatham MSS.* 99.) On February 28, 1756, their army, including both Europeans and natives, amounted to 9988; and 872 more Europeans were drafted out in the course of the year. There was also a regular battalion in India at that date. (Record Office—*Foreign, Various*, 68.) In time of war the Company often found considerable difficulty in raising their European battalions, since they had to compete with the recruiting officers for the King's regiments. (See Auber, *Rise of British Power in India*, i, 69.)

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they also obtained a few royal regiments and a few ships of the navy from a sympathetic secretary of state.

But neither secretaries of state nor directors in Leadenhall Street were of the first importance for conducting campaigns in a country five months' to a year's journey distant from England. Canada, the West Indies, and Senegal were won because Pitt directed and planned the campaigns, which Amherst, Wolfe, Barrington, Boscawen, or Saunders carried out according to his intentions. India was won chiefly because we had a Clive upon the spot, ready to plan and act for himself. But even a Clive needed support and encouragement from home, and that he obtained in full measure from Pitt. Soaked from childhood in the traditions of our Indian trade and government,[1] Pitt alone of the politicians at Westminster could appreciate what India already was to England, and what she might become. Clive saw this when he was at home in 1760. Describing interviews with Newcastle and Pitt,

> the discourse of the former [he wrote] was truly in the courtier's style—many professions of friendship and regard, many offers of service, without the least meaning in them; but the discourse of the latter, which lasted an hour and a half, was of a more serious nature and much more to the purpose. The subject was the support and welfare of the East India Company. Mr. Pitt seems thoroughly convinced of the infinite consequences of the East India Company to the nation; he made no scruple to me of giving it the preference to our concerns in America.[2]

In later years Pitt himself said of India that there he had garnered up his heart.[3]

In 1756 Clive, hearing of the Black Hole massacre, collected all the available force on the Coromandel Coast and sailed with Admiral Watson and his three ships to the Ganges. In the first half of 1757 he recaptured Calcutta, drove the French out of Chandernagore, and with 3000 men against 50,000 defeated Surajah Dowlah at Plassey on June 23. By this battle and the subsequent treaty, which gave the Company virtual control of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. he laid the foundation of the

[1] See chapter i. [2] Malcolm, *Clive*, ii, 503.
[3] See below, p. 293.

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English territorial power in India. Meanwhile Pitt, in answer to the Company's representation of their weak state, had sent out Steevens with four ships and a frigate to reinforce Watson, and allowed the men of Aldercron's regiment to be enlisted in the East Indian army.[1] News of Calcutta and Chandernagore came to England in September 1757; in the following session Pitt contrasted Loudoun's inactivity in America with the achievements of Watson and Clive in India. 'We have lost our glory, honour, and reputation everywhere but in India,' he exclaimed;

December 14, 1757.

> There I find Watson, Pocock, and Clive. What astonishing success has been Watson's with only three ships, which had been laid up for some time on land! He did not stay to careen this, and condemn that, but at once sailed into the body of the Ganges. And by his side Clive—that man not born for a desk—that heaven-born general! He it is true had never learned the arts of war or that skill in doing nothing, which only forty years of service can bring! Yet was he not afraid to attack a numerous army with a handful of men with a magnanimity, a resolution, a determination and an execution that would charm a King of Prussia and with a presence of mind that astonished the Indies.[2]

Clive's proud father at once wrote to his son an account of Pitt's speech.[3] Clive, deeply touched by such a tribute from such a man,[4] wrote to thank him and afterwards continued sending him accounts of his own proceedings and appeals

[1] Record Office—*S. P. Dom. Adm.* 229 (January 2, 1757), and *Foreign, Various*, 68.

[2] Walpole's *Memoirs*, iii, 89, Malcolm's *Clive*, ii, 157, and Schæfer, i, 665 (Letter of Prince Czartoriski to his father), are the chief authorities for this speech. The King, a good judge of a fighter, agreed with Pitt in his estimate of Clive. When asked to allow a young lord to go and learn the art of war in Germany, he growled out, 'Pshaw! What can he learn there? If he wants to learn the art of war, let him go to Clive.'

[3] According to Walpole (—to Mann, May 7, 1760) Clive's father used to carry proposals from his son to Pitt, and on one occasion offered, if Pitt would send Clive some ships and money, that he would send back enough treasure to pay the national debt. 'That is asking too much,' said Pitt: 'fifty millions would suffice.' 'Lord, Sir,' answered the old man, 'consider—if your administration lasts, the national debt will soon be two hundred millions.'

[4] Pitt and Clive had probably met in 1754–5, when Clive was in England and had been elected for Parliament. Clive was unseated on petition, but was warmly defended by Fox, with whom Pitt was then in alliance.

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for help from England. Until he returned to England in 1760 Clive remained in Bengal, where he carried all before him. In 1758 the English in the Carnatic, being hard pressed by the French, asked Clive to return to their assistance. Unable to spare men for Madras he helped them almost as effectively by diversions farther north. He sent Colonel Forde in October 1758 against Conflans, Bussy's lieutenant in the Northern Circars. In December 1758 Forde defeated Conflans at Condore, and in the following April captured Masulipatam, the only factory then left to the French north of Pondichery. The Dutch at Chensura on the Hugli had also been giving trouble, and in November 1759 seized some English trading vessels; whereupon Clive sent Forde to deal with them. After two defeats near Chensura the Dutch agreed to confine themselves for the future to their commerce.[1] In 1760 Clive left for England after he had cleared the French out of Bengal and the Northern Circars and destroyed their influence at Hyderabad, and had left the English company undisputed masters of the commercial and political situation in the whole of the north-eastern part of India.

In the Carnatic the struggle had been more evenly balanced. In 1756 the French government sent out d'Aché with a fleet and 2000 regulars under a new commissioner, Lally, to the Coromandel Coast. Both divisions of d'Aché's force eluded the English squadrons on the watch for them,[2] and arrived on the Coromandel Coast — the first in September 1757, the second in the following May. When united they were slightly superior to the English fleet under Pocock, who on Watson's death in July 1757 had taken command of the original three ships on the station and of Steevens's reinforcement, which arrived about the same time as d'Aché's second division. In April and August 1758

[1] Before fighting the Dutch Forde had qualms about attacking a nominally friendly power and asked Clive for an Order in Council to authorize him. Clive was at cards when Forde's message came; without interrupting the game he wrote on a slip of paper: 'Dear Forde, fight them immediately. I will send you the Order in Council to-morrow.' Clive's high-handed action brought no trouble to the Ministry, for the Dutch not only apologised but paid damages for their seizure of English traders.

[2] See vol. i, p. 302.

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Pocock provoked d'Aché to fight, but both combats proved indecisive. On land Lally was more successful. He captured Cuddalore, Fort St. David, and Arcot, and in December 1758 laid siege to Madras with a force double that of the defenders.[1]

At this conjuncture Clive wrote to Pitt representing the urgent need of reinforcements. Since the dispatch of Steevens only one battalion—Draper's—had been sent to India, while in addition to d'Aché's fleet and 2000 men, a third French division with 1200 more soldiers was expected at Mauritius when Clive wrote on February 21, 1759:

> The repeated supplies furnished by the French from home compared with the handful of men sent out to us afford a melancholy proof that our Company are not of themselves able to take the proper measures for the security of their settlements; and unless they be assisted by the Nation they must inevitably at last fall a sacrifice to the superior efforts of the French Company supported by their Monarch. . . . It looks as if the French Government were turning their arms this way, in hopes of an equivalent for the losses they have reason to apprehend in America from the formidable force sent by us into that country.[2]

As Clive implied, the fault lay more with the directors of the Company, who, according to Anson, were at that time 'gratifying their private resentments, distressing his Majesty's service, embroiling their constituents' affairs . . . in place of labouring for the interest of the Company and the nation.' Pitt had already forestalled Clive's wishes. In January 1759 he had sanctioned the raising of a new regiment under Colonel Coote to sail immediately with two men-of-war and a convoy of East Indiamen. In the following April he proposed to the House of Commons an annual subsidy of £20,000 to assist the East India Company during the rest of the war. Before the reinforcements could reach India, Pocock, returning in February from his winter anchorage at Bombay, had obliged Lally to give up the siege of Madras. D'Aché did not appear from Mauritius until September and, after landing stores at

[1] French—2300 Europeans, 5000 Sepoys; English—1700 Europeans, 2200 Sepoys.

[2] *Chatham MSS.* 26.

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Pondichery and fighting another indecisive battle with Pocock, returned to Mauritius, leaving Lally to his fate. In 1760 Pitt once more came to the Company's aid. In April the directors wrote to India announcing the dispatch of a large reinforcement, 'the glorious successes at home having enabled the government to grant us large succours and we most gratefully confess the Ministry's care of this Company.'[1] In January of this year Coote defeated Lally at Wandewash and by April had driven the French from all their settlements in the Carnatic except Pondichery.

Late in September 1760 Pitt wrote to his wife:

> Pocock is arrived in the Downs with seventeen rich India ships: value above two millions. Col. Coote since the battle had taken several places and lastly Arcot the capital of that province.[2]

In these simple words Pitt chronicled what had been in effect the ruin of the French East India Company. A few months later Pondichery and then Mahé on the Malabar Coast fell, and by April 5, 1761, the French had not a possession left in India. In 1754 the French East India Company brought over to France goods valued at £1,000,000: in 1759, when the English Company's exports were worth 1¾ millions, the French exports were reduced to nothing.[3]

This result was chiefly due to the disappearance of the French fleet from Indian waters after September 1759, a disappearance for which the credit is due to Pitt. At the end of a long conversation with Clive's agent, Walsh, in November 1759, Pitt had suddenly flashed out at him: 'What about Mauritius? Would not the reduction of that be laying the axe to the root? How far is it practicable?'[4] This was no sudden idea of Pitt's. In his instructions to Watson in 1757 he had ordered him to attack Mauritius, if the Company desired it, and in 1760 he repeated these orders to the admiral who took over Pocock's command. He had also been collecting

[1] Auber, *Rise of the British Power in India*, i, 70.
[2] *Chatham MSS.* 5. Surat had been recaptured from the Mahrattas in 1759.
[3] *Lansdowne House MSS.* 102 (*Revenue*), and 99 (*East Indies*).
[4] Malcolm, *Clive*, ii, 127 *sqq.*

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information from mariners who had touched there, at Ile de Bourbon or Madagascar during the previous forty years,[1] being convinced that the French could not hold India if they lost their harbours of refuge for the Indian squadron during the monsoon months. In 1760 he laid all his plans for an expedition to Mauritius under Keppel, the victor at Goree, in co-operation with Cornish, the commodore left on the Indian station. This expedition was afterwards diverted to Belleisle, but the mere rumour of the preparations answered Pitt's purpose. Urgent orders were sent from Paris to d'Aché, warning him of the intended attack and bidding him on no account leave Mauritius for Indian waters; and in June 1760 French troops were sent to Mauritius instead of to India where they were sorely needed. When in February 1761 the East India Company asked Pitt to take up the plan once more, the need for it had passed, for the French no longer had establishments in India to be served by a fleet.[2]

The East India Company and the men who had won India for England were not slow to recognise their debt to Pitt during these critical years. Sulivan, chairman of the directors, told Pitt after his resignation that the Company 'not only owed their present glorious situation but their very existence to his generous protection,'[3] Coote, the victor of Wandewash, frequently in after years sought his advice on Indian affairs, and Draper, one of the heroes of the defence of Madras, pompously recorded his virtues on an obelisk in his garden.[4] Clive, 'the heaven-born general, not born for a desk,' was the more grateful for Pitt's generous praise that he was little appreciated by his own Company, whose chairman in 1761 spoke of Stringer Lawrence as 'the greatest military officer that ever was in Asia.'[5] Clive's conquests were as little esteemed by Sulivan as his military ability: Bengal he thought of as only useful for the saltpetre it produced, and territorial

[1] *Chatham MSS.* 100.

[2] See Corbett, ii, 132 *sqq.*; Beatson, ii, 420; and Barchou de Penhoën, *L'Empire Anglais dans l'Inde*, ii, 248.

[3] *Chatham MSS.* 60.

[4] *Ibid.* 27, and *Chatham Corr.* iii, 325, iv, 124.

[5] *Chatham MSS.* 60, Sulivan to Pitt, February 5, 1761.

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acquisitions as a cause of unjustifiable expense to the Company.[1] Small wonder, therefore, that Clive was more confiding to Pitt than to his own immediate superiors, especially as he thought India to be the concern not merely of a few hundred shareholders but of the nation. He had his doubts about the wisdom of committing to a trading company the control of the three provinces won for them at Plassey, and the enormous revenue which the collection of taxes over this vast tract would bring. These doubts he confided to Pitt in his first letter to him of January 1759, and suggested that the nation instead of the Company should assume these territorial and financial powers.[2]

Clive's suggestion raised a point destined to give Pitt much anxiety later on. From want of due consideration perhaps he had to some extent prejudged the case of territorial rights before Clive's letter came. In 1757, on the conquest of Calcutta, the Company had prayed for permission to retain all booty, including places captured, as a set-off to their great expenses. In spite of the law officers' adverse decision on the question of right, Pitt, to relieve the Company's finances, issued letters patent granting them the privilege of retaining all booty gained from native enemies exclusively by their own troops and also of ceding by treaty with the native powers fortresses and territories in their possession. These letters patent, though not explicitly admitting the Company's right to administer and draw revenues from Indian territories, went a long way towards implying it.[3] When, therefore, Clive's agent, Walsh, came in November 1759 to discuss his principal's proposal that the nation should take over the conquered territories, Pitt evidently felt himself in a difficulty. While admitting that the scheme was practicable he put it off for the time on the ground that it involved questions of a 'very nice nature.' With Clive to carry it through he thought it might be managed, but Clive was coming home, and

[1] *Chatham MSS.* 60, Sulivan to Pitt, July 27, 1761.

[2] This scheme of collecting taxes for the Great Mogul, for a consideration which Clive here calculates at £2,000,000, was not put into practice until 1765, during Clive's second tenure of office.

[3] See *Chatham MSS.* 99 for the law officers' opinion and Pitt's instructions for the letters patent of September 19, 1757, and January 14, 1758.

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his successors might be less equal to the task. Pitt also hinted at the objection, which afterwards assumed larger proportions in his eyes, that the patronage of the Crown might be unduly increased thereby, and could not see his way through the dilemma that 'the Company were not proper to have it, nor the Crown, for such a revenue would endanger our liberties.' There the matter rested, with the result, prophesied by Walsh, that, since the nation neglected the offer, the Company found itself compelled to undertake the charge 'for their greater quiet and safety, exclusive of gain.' [1]

The conquests of 1760 were cheaply won. The destruction of the French fleets in 1759 had made it impossible for Choiseul to send considerable reinforcements by sea, and any attempt by single ships to slip away from the French ports was frustrated by the vigilance of the English fleets. Colville had his squadron in America, Holmes in the West Indies, and Pocock in Indian waters. Saunders patrolled the Mediterranean, inspired some awe in the Barbary pirates, and secured the Levant trade. Rodney watched the Channel ports, sank French flat-bottomed boats, and destroyed their commerce. The two old sea-dogs, Hawke and Boscawen, took turns in watching the Biscay ports so much at their ease that they seized two small French islands in the Bay whereon to grow fresh vegetables and draw water for their men.[2]

The one anxiety was Germany, where Frederic had fared ill in 1759 and was hard pressed in 1760. In spite of victories at Liegnitz in August, and Torgau in November, he had suffered crushing defeats and had lost Dresden, Glatz, and other parts of Saxony and Silesia. Having once cast in his lot with Frederic, Pitt was determined not to leave him in the lurch at the peace; but he was not anxious to buy back Frederic's losses at the peace by the sacrifice of English conquests. The process of 'conquering America in Germany' had therefore to be continued. In 1758 and 1759 Ferdinand's army had helped to divert France from the defence of her oversea posessions; in 1760 its task was to prevent France from indirectly regaining these possessions by successes in Germany. But even after

[1] Malcolm, *Clive*, ii, 127 *sqq*. [2] Entick, v, 49.

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the victory of Minden Ferdinand had written to say that he could not hold out much longer without more troops. It was impossible, said Pitt, to send reinforcements while Conflans was still unbeaten and anxious to invade England; with 27,000 soldiers in America, 4000 in Africa, 5000 in Gibraltar, and 10,000 already in Germany not a man more could be spared from the small garrison at home.[1] Pitt wrote to this effect on November 6, 1759; a month later Conflans was beaten, all danger was past, and Pitt had consented to send reinforcements. Seven regiments of cavalry, one of them Elliot's Horse, that famous troop of tailors whose exploits Charles Lamb himself could not gainsay,[2] eight battalions of infantry and, lastly, three battalions of guards were sent to Germany in 1760, the only conditions on which Pitt insisted being that the infantry should be recalled at once in case of invasion, and that the regular troops left in England should be encamped with the militia 'to make the face of an army at home.'[3] By September 1760 Ferdinand's army had been raised to 96,000 men, over 20,000 of whom were English, while the regulars left in Great Britain barely exceeded the numbers in Germany. Pitt recognised the risk of sending so large a proportion of the army to Germany and, in announcing to Temple the dispatch of the last contingent of guards, wrote, 'I stand responsible for the event: may Heaven send it prosperous!'[4]

At least he felt assured that his generals would not play him false. Granby, who had succeeded to the command of the English contingent after Sackville's disgrace, was not a brilliant general, but by his bravery, his modesty, and his chivalry he quickly earned the love of the British soldier and gained the notoriety of tavern signs; while Pitt said of him: 'Whoever feels for the honour of England must think himself a debtor

[1] *Chatham MSS.* 90.

[2] In his essay *On the Melancholy of Tailors.* He questioned, however, 'whether in their fiercest charges they betrayed anything of that thoughtless oblivion of death with which a Frenchman jigs into battle.' At the battle of Emsdorf in July 1760 Elliot's Horse covered itself with glory.

[3] *Add. MSS.* 32905, f. 196.

[4] *Grenville Papers*, i, 347.

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to the Marquis of Granby.'[1] With Ferdinand also Pitt's cordiality had been steadily increasing. He proposed a grant
December 1759. of £20,000 to him after Minden in terms of warm admiration. On his side Ferdinand was not above a little innocent flattery of the great man: 'Comme vous avez servi vous même,' he writes, in a letter of January 19, 1759, 'vous devez mieux sentir que personne. . . .'; and though officially in correspondence with Holderness he never failed to write privately to Pitt reporting his plans and even asking for his advice on military matters.[2]

Pitt's expectations from his generals and from his prodigality in troops were hardly answered by events. The French had put their one respectable marshal, Broglie, in command, and Ferdinand, in spite of some occasional successes, was again driven out of Hesse and had much ado to hold on to Hanover. He kept the French off Frederic, which was Pitt's chief aim, but he did nothing to strike the imagination or revive the popularity of the German operations, which had again lost favour in England since Minden. Pitt himself knew that without more to show for the great expense England was incurring, he would be unable to carry the country with him in supporting Frederic, and in the autumn talked gloomily of the 'cloud that for some time has hung somewhat heavily upon the scene,' and even declared that without greater activity on Ferdinand's part he, for one, would not be for continuing the measures in Germany another year.[3]

The cloud of unpopularity about the German war was, however, barely larger than a man's hand; and when, on October 25, 1760, George II died, Pitt was at the height of his glory: Canada and India were won, the French West Indies were falling in, Africa had yielded the only spot then valuable to England, the French navy had been driven from the sea and one of the French armies had been put to flight by a few English regiments. Nor was it

[1] *Rutland MSS.* (*Historical MSS. Commission*), ii, 538. Several letters in Manners, *Granby*, illustrate the good spirit of the troops under Granby, *e.g.* Lord Pembroke's remark that the troops after much privation and tiresome marches were 'vastly jolly and happy.'

[2] See *Chatham MSS.* 90, which contains much of their correspondence.

[3] See Manners, *Granby*, pp. 145, 158, and *Add. MSS.* 32906, f. 410.

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one man's triumph: the nation gave men and money willingly for what Pitt had shown them was a national struggle with France for the right to trade and settle where they pleased. Pitt himself seemed all-powerful. The City named the new bridge at Blackfriars after the man who 'recovered, augmented and secured the British Empire in Asia, Africa and America.'[1] Parliament voted all he asked without examination; the King himself had lost his distrust of him and became more Pittite in martial schemes than Pitt himself. His colleagues cowered before him. When, with the 'vast and dangerous load' of a great war upon what he was pleased to call his 'feeble shoulders,' he gave way to a fit of impatience at some real or fancied slight, Lady Yarmouth, Newcastle, and all his other colleagues, panic-stricken at the thought that he might resign and leave the war on their hands, usually gave in to all he demanded. In France his name had become as terrible as Marlborough's half a century before, and to him, as to a generous and all-powerful adversary, were addressed petitions for mercy or favour from French courtiers, soldiers, writers and even from the humblest women.[2] Frederic, his ally, talked of him with the respect and confidence that he vouchsafed to no living monarch, and Catherine of Russia wrote to propitiate him. But such glory made him enemies, who were not softened by his impatient outbursts and his contempt for fools. In a man who had to bear this 'vast and dangerous load' alone, such outbursts may have been venial, but none the less surely helped to work his downfall.

[1] See the inscription in Latin in Almon, Appendix, vol. iii.

[2] Of the many appeals addressed to Pitt by relations of prisoners, the following, preserved in *Chatham MSS.* 31, is the most engaging. 'Croyez-vous en bonne foy, Monseigneur,' writes Marie Demousseaux of Honfleur, 'que nous autres filles soyons bien disposez à exalter votre superiorité, tandis qu'il vous plaît de tenir nos amans claquemurez dans une prison? . . . en serez-vous un plus grand homme? quand vous me priverez de voir mon amant. . . . Vous trouverez peut-être qu'il est indécent de convenir qu'on a un amant, et de parler à un grand seigneur de semblables fariboles: mais quand on aime un matelot on y entend pas tant de finesse . . . il se nomme Jean Daval de la ville de Honfleur de la haute rue pris à Louisbourg sur la gaulette Le Hazard venant du Cap, detenu dans les prisons de Vincester depuis trois ans: Croyez-moi ne vous faites point haïr; il y a tant de plaisir à être aimé, et nous aimerons si volontiers ce que nous estimons déjà tant.' We do not know if Pitt yielded to this prayer, but since he preserved the letter it may have touched him enough to restore Jean Daval to his faithful Marie.

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Note on the Employment of Indians in the Seven Years' War

(See above, p. 20.)

There is no doubt that in this war the French commanders and governors were guilty of encouraging the barbarous methods of warfare practised by their Indian allies on inoffensive settlers and on English soldiers. M. Waddington's impartial narrative makes this clear. Even Montcalm cannot be held entirely blameless for not taking greater precautions to prevent the massacre of surrendered English soldiers from Fort William Henry (see vol. i, p. 347). To this incident Amherst was probably alluding in his reply to Vaudreuil. But the English themselves were not free from reproach. Before Pitt came into power Shirley had instructed Johnson to persuade the Indians to take up the hatchet against the French and told him that scalps and prisoners would be paid for. (Record Office, *C. O.* 5, 52.) Later Dinwiddie, Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, in a letter to Pitt himself of May 14, 1757, says incidentally that the Indians proceeded 'in parties with some of our people a-scalping and to discover the motions of the enemy . . . a barbarous method of conducting war,' he adds apologetically, 'introduced by the French, which we are obliged to follow in our own defence.' (Kimball, i, 65; see also *ib.* 80.) Townshend said much the same in the House of Lords in 1777: 'The case was this: M. de Montcalm employed them early in the war, which put us under the necessity of doing the same; but they were never employed in the army under my command, but in assisting the troops in the laborious services necessarily attending an army; they were never under military command, nor arrayed for military purpose.' Pitt himself in his instructions to Abercromby and Amherst ordered them to cultivate 'the best harmony and friendship possible . . . with the chiefs of the Indian tribes . . . and engage the said Indians to take part and act with our forces in all operations as you shall judge most expedient.' Speaking nearly twenty years later on the subject in the House of Lords he appears to have forgotten these orders, and had to be corrected by Amherst, when he denied that he had sanctioned the use of Indian braves in war. (See below, pp. 322–4.) But he sanctioned no such atrocities as those which Suffolk complacently defended twenty years later in the war against our own brethren. When the Indians were under responsible commanders like Sir William Johnson, they were kept within due limits, and no such incident as the massacre of Fort William Henry disgraced our arms in the Seven Years' War. Amherst in his dispatch from Montreal writes: 'Sir William Johnson has taken unwearied pain in keeping the Indians in humane bounds, and I have the pleasure to assure you that not a peasant, woman, or child has been hurt by them since I entered the enemy's country.' Pitt in his answer shows the sense in which he desired the Indians' co-operation. 'His Majesty,' he writes, 'has learnt with sensible pleasure that, by the good order kept by Sir William Johnson among the Indians, no act of cruelty has stained the lustre of the British arms.'

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CHAPTER XV

CAUSES OF PITT'S DECLINE

ὕβρις γὰο ἐξανθοῦσ' ἐκάρπωσε στάχυν
ἄτης.

ÆSCHYLUS, *Pers.* 821.[1]

Intemperate heat and passion injures and betrays the cause it is anxious to maintain.—WILLIAM PITT.

'PITT is single, imperious, proud, enthusiastick,' said of him his rival Fox.[2] These qualities won for England an empire, but they were the undoing of Pitt. A man of the utmost consideration to subordinates, he showed his roughest and most unpleasing side to equals. In conducting the details of a great affair or disposing men of good spirit to follow his behests few could exercise more tact and patience; but a contemptuous disregard for those of his own circle who ventured to disagree with him or hamper him raised many enemies on the watch to punish him. 'Fewer words, my Lord, for your words have long lost all weight with me'[3]—may have been passed over when Pitt was needed, but could never have been forgiven even by the simple Duke of Newcastle. While there were losses to retrieve or new worlds to conquer, men, who would have been helpless without his enthusiasm and his readiness to take all upon him, endured his imperious ways, but they nursed their grievances and longed for the day of revenge. Against a man of Pitt's impetuosity grievances were quickly piled up. Often he was right in

[1] 'Swelling pride brings its crop of retribution.'
[2] *Stowe MSS.* 263. [3] See vol. i, p. 259.

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substance but by his manner gave handle to his adversaries; sometimes he was purely unreasonable. For example, though he made it a general rule to confine his patronage to posts in his own department demanding active work, on the rare occasions when he asked for an exceptional favour and was refused he was shrill in his indignation. On some fancied insult at Court to his connection, Sir Richard Lyttelton, he wrote to the Duke of Devonshire, 'How can I show my face in Parliament as a minister if I cannot save a friend and brother from oppression and disgrace unexampled?'[1] In asking the Duke of Newcastle to give the Chaplain of the House of Commons a prebendal stall he wrote with grotesque humility:

> Knowing my entire inability to do *this mighty matter*, I beg to leave it with your Grace upon the justice and decency of the pretension. As I have not one word to say concerning hierarchies and powers, I would fain hope that I might be indulged an humble prebend in the name of the Commons of England.

When Temple was refused the Garter and resigned the Privy Seal in September 1759, Pitt, though remaining in office, announced that 'his health required the air of the country,' and that he hoped to find greater consideration for his wishes 'when next his reluctant steps should bring him up the stairs of Kensington and mix him with the dust of the antechamber.'[2]

These were trifling matters: when he differed from his colleagues on affairs of greater moment he was even more overbearing. His irritability, which was not diminished by power, is accounted for partly by his public anxieties, partly by his frequent illnesses. Every year, except in 1758, after the winter labours of writing long dispatches to America and sending forth all his expeditions, he was laid up for weeks in the early spring and had to excuse himself through his

[1] Torrens, ii, 355.

[2] Temple, in consequence, obtained his Garter and withdrew his resignation. But the King, who hated him, almost threw the insignia in his face, as if he were casting a bone to a troublesome cur.

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secretaries for not answering letters or granting interviews even to foreign ministers. During these illnesses he was aware that intrigues against him were generally rife, and he was inclined to frighten the culprits into submission by increased haughtiness on his return to activity.[1] Besides the enemies he had raised in the Prince of Wales's court and among the 'disobliged' military men of the old school, whom he openly flouted, he contrived in home affairs to set against himself Hardwicke, Mansfield, and the powerful phalanx of the law; the Duke of Bedford and his influential following by his conduct of Irish affairs; Newcastle and Legge by his interference in finance. In all these instances he was more often to blame in manner than in substance.

I.—Domestic Policy

The cause, for which he brought the legal wasps' nest about his ears, was a noble one, but he mismanaged it. Public liberty and the reform of abuses are apt to suffer when a nation is engaged on a great war; but Pitt found time in the midst of his military preparations to stand up for the rights of the people. During the vacation of 1757 a man had been illegally pressed for the army and confined in the Savoy. On his application for release Lord Mansfield decided that it lay within the discretion of the judge to issue a writ of habeas corpus or not, where, as in this case, no criminal charge was exhibited against a man: he also expressed doubts as to the power of certain judges to issue the writ at all in vacation. The man was released by warrant of the Secretary at War

[1] This was especially the case in 1759. See *Historical MSS. Commission*, Weston Underwood, p. 315, June 7, 1759: 'The political world seems quiet and since Mr. Pitt has again appeared after a long illness animosity subsides in outward appearance at least.' See also Prussian Minister's report for this year in Ruville, Appendix, iii, 384, for Newcastle's intrigues against him during his illness.

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and therefore suffered no hardship. But Pitt was aghast at the discovery that a writ of habeas corpus might be a matter not of obligation but of discretion to the judges; it was contrary to all his ideas of the Habeas Corpus Act, the Petition of Right, and Magna Charta itself. The claim of the humble, who had no other property but 'property in liberty,' never appealed to him in vain. He immediately assumed that Mansfield had misinterpreted the law in order to weaken the liberty of the subject, and, without consulting Hardwicke or indeed anybody, had a bill prepared by his Attorney-General, Pratt, to make it clear that in all cases the judges were bound to issue the writ.

March 17, 1758. On a strict interpretation of the precedents Lord Mansfield was probably right in his decision; but Pitt ruthlessly brushed aside technicalities that interfered with the right to claim a writ of habeas corpus. 'Compounding a great law of liberty' he called Mansfield's judgment.

> For his own part [he declared in the House of Commons] he would never be entangled in the cobwebs of Westminster Hall, but would force any judge who nibbled at the liberties of the people to hide his head. To have every Englishman's birthright at the discretion of a judge was dangerous, since there was no trusting to the multiform, clashing, inconsistent opinions of Westminster Hall.

One who heard this speech, while admitting its overpowering force of persuasion, criticised it as that of 'a domineering schoolmaster who kept his boys in order by raising their fears without wasting argument upon them.' In the Commons he carried the bill with ease, but he then found insuperable difficulties. The King thought it an attack on his prerogative, Hardwicke was piqued that he had not been consulted, and Mansfield was stung by Pitt's diatribe against him. Pitt attempted to beat down this opposition. He dined with Newcastle on April 14 and had a long legal argument with him. 'I have read,' he told him, 'as I suppose you have, Littleton, Coke, Selden, and Sir Simon D'Ewes and can talk upon this question as any lawyer.' He then expounded his view at great length—

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that Mansfield had wilfully misinterpreted the law: 'judges had frequently given up law and liberty,' he said and made dark allusions to the fate of the ship-money judges. 'I saw I was to be bullied,' quoth Newcastle, 'but he entirely failed of his aim.'

When the bill came to the House of Lords nobody supported it but Temple and the old warrior Granville. Hardwicke had it referred to the judges, reflecting that 'my Lord Mansfield being one of their body, has more opportunities of knowing and more facilities of giving them right hints, I mean in matters of law, than anybody else.' Pitt, in despair, threatened the Duke of Newcastle with 'the distrust, alienation and complaining in your streets' which would follow the rejecting the confirmation of their liberties in the Habeas Corpus Bill,' and implored him by his love for the country's good 'not to throw away all the confidence, goodwill and national concord which at present attend his Majesty's service';[1] but all to no purpose. The judges gave the answers expected of them and on June 2 the bill was rejected in the Lords, after Hardwicke had given a promise, which he never fulfilled, to bring in a bill to relieve doubts. For a few days the Court was in a flutter lest Pitt should resign: 'Keep Mr. Pitt till we have peace, and then do what you will with him,' said Lady Yarmouth. But Pitt could not resign then and contented himself with venting his wrath on Hardwicke's son, Lord Royston. Royston had abused Beckford in the House for speaking slightingly of the peers. 'I am sorry,' said Pitt, 'to hear such language from a gentleman who is to be a peer,' and proceeded to descant on Beckford's importance and dignity, and above all on the dignity and importance of his office of alderman, concluding 'that for himself he should be prouder to be an alderman than a peer.' In his stand for public liberty Pitt was undoubtedly right. As he retorted on Lady Yarmouth, when she said all the lawyers were against his bill, 'Madam, if all the Bishops on the Bench were to say the people should not have the use of the Bible, would the people part with their Bible?' But if, instead of attacking Mansfield and the

June 6, 1758.

[1] *Add. MSS.* 32880, ff. 104, 110.

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lawyers, he had conciliated Hardwicke he would probably have gained his point.[1]

Hardwicke was a man worth even Pitt's while to conciliate. He was a great judge, was respected by the King, and was slavishly followed by the Duke of Newcastle; he carried great weight in the Cabinet Council, which, though not in office, he still attended, and was almost a dictator in the House of Lords. As a rule Pitt and Hardwicke were on most friendly terms. Hardwicke liked to pose before Pitt as the man of the world, smiling indulgently at the younger man's enthusiasm; but he recognised his ability and rarely encouraged Newcastle's inclination to rebel against his despotism. Pitt admired Hardwicke's legal knowledge, consulted him freely on all questions of international law, and was often glad of his criticisms on his own dispatches. But when Pitt had fully considered a question for himself, he did not make enough allowances for the pardonable vanity of an old man accustomed to be consulted and to be heard with deference. He again offended Hardwicke's tenderest feelings in 1759 by a violent outburst against his son Joseph Yorke, envoy at The Hague, who had been guilty of what at worst was an error of judgment.[2] Often, too, by flaring up at the least breath of objection to his pet measures he stirred up Hardwicke to more energetic opposition than he would naturally have undertaken; nor is it surprising that Hardwicke should now and then have been inclined to show Pitt that he could not carry everybody with him.

On his favourite militia, especially, Pitt suffered several rebuffs owing to Hardwicke,[3] who while professing to admire it in principle showed all the conservative lawyer's ingenuity

[1] Most of the correspondence relating to this episode is to be found in Yorke, *Hardwicke*, iii, 1–52. See also *Parl. Hist.*, xv, 871 *sqq.* for Pratt's bill and the arguments for and against it; and Rogers, *Protests of the Lords* of May 30 and June 2, 1758, which were no doubt inspired by Pitt.

[2] See below, pp. 75–6.

[3] In 1757 Hardwicke with Anson and Newcastle rejected a valuable reform in the payment of seamen's wages, which Pitt strongly supported; they allowed it, however, to pass in 1758, perhaps from a feeling that the Habeas Corpus triumph was enough for one year. This reform was to remedy somewhat similar grievances to those the Chelsea Pensioners had suffered before Pitt's Act of 1754...

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in finding objections in detail. He tacitly encouraged the opposition to it in the country districts;[1] refused to allow it to be extended even to the Lowlands of Scotland in the face of Pitt's support, and obstructed reforms found necessary in the original Act. Pitt was in high dudgeon when the bill extending the militia beyond its original term of five years had to be dropped. He declared, much to the uneasiness of Hardwicke and Newcastle, that he should reintroduce it on the first day of the next session and that 'if the militia was not continued he should look upon the country as absolutely undone'; and he reminded his critics that, but for the militia, he should never have been able to send to Germany the large drafts of regulars for which they especially clamoured.'[2] In the following autumn, however, Pitt had a friendly talk with Hardwicke on the subject and removed many of his objections.[3] Such friendly talks at an earlier stage of this and other controversies between them would have smoothed Pitt's path not only with Hardwicke but also, through his influence, with Newcastle.

April 15, 25, 1760.

II.—Ireland

With the Duke of Bedford and the Bedford connection Pitt quarrelled about Ireland. Here also he was right in substance but unnecessarily arrogant in tone to one of the proudest of an intensely proud aristocracy. Bedford, once an ally of Pitt,[4] had entirely gone over to Fox's side when he accepted the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland in 1756. He was

[1] See vol. i, p. 404.

[2] In 1760 according to the Commons Journals, not 1759, as Smollett (bk. iii, ch. xii) states, the principal measures to amend defects in the militia laws were brought forward. The bill for extending the militia to Scotland was rejected April 15, 1760. Bills relieving counties of some of the expenses connected with the militia and limiting the practice of obtaining substitutes for personal service were assented to on May 22, 1760. The various amending and consolidating Acts are 31 Geo. II, c. 26; 32 Geo. II, cc. 20, 21; 33 Geo. II, cc. 2, 22, 24; 2 Geo. III, c. 20. For the debates and correspondence, see *Add. MSS.* 32904, ff. 184, 259, 343, 392; 32905, ff. 103, 339.

[3] See below, p. 68.

[4] See vol. i, pp. 1103, 166, &c.

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unfortunate in his secretary, Rigby, an unblushing office-seeker who made his master unpopular except among his own boon companions. The Duke himself, though comparatively honest and well intentioned, was neither tactful nor industrious and took his orders from Pitt—a man whom he had once patronized—with ill-concealed impatience. When he came over to Ireland in 1757 the Irish Parliament, though soothed by a year of good government under Devonshire, was still ready to flare up at the remembrance of his foolish predecessor, the Duke of Dorset, and Lord George Sackville, the duke's son and secretary. Bedford's first act was not calculated to conciliate it. Finding a pension of £800 vacant on what Pitt called the 'opprobrious list' of Ireland, he gave it to his sister-in-law, Lady Betty Waldegrave. This was the more scandalous, since he had recently complained to Newcastle of the increase of these pensions in thirty years by nearly £20,000.[1] The Irish House of Commons retorted by strong resolutions against pensions, absentees, and other grievances, which Bedford at first refused to transmit officially to England. When Pitt received Bedford's letter announcing that he should not transmit the resolutions, he called a Cabinet Council and, supported by its unanimous opinion, peremptorily ordered Bedford to send them over and inform the Irish House of Commons he had done so.[2] Bedford's ill-humour was not diminished when he found that the contents of Pitt's dispatch had leaked out and that he stood rebuked before the whole of Ireland. Instead of sending Pitt suggestions for appeasing the party quarrels in that kingdom, as had been requested of him, he asked leave to come to England for the usual eighteen months' holiday. He was told by Pitt first to compose the differences between the various 'undertakers' of government and produce a respectable list of Lords Justices to take his place during his absence.[3] After some difficulty Bedford succeeded, and came over in March 1758.

[1] *Bedford Corr.* ii, 272.

[2] The Cabinet Council was held on November 17, 1757 (*Chatham MSS.* 84).

[3] To avoid the trouble of finding three Lords Justices who would not quarrel, Bedford proposed to Pitt that he should revive the plan of a single Lord Deputy. But Pitt thought an attempt at conciliation should be made.

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Bedford had more apparent justification for his grievance as to the frequent calls made by Pitt on the Irish military establishment. The standing army in Ireland was fixed at 12,000 and was paid by the Irish Parliament. Constitutionally there was no objection to this army being drawn upon in time of war, if the defences of Ireland were not unduly weakened; but every man had to be wrung from Bedford. At each order from Pitt for Irish regiments to go on foreign service Bedford protested that the Papists would rise, that the country was 'full of disaffected inhabitants,' and that it was left open to invasion. Pitt gave little heed to these complaints. In the first three years of his ministry he ordered abroad five regiments of cavalry and three infantry battalions, besides making large demands on the battalions remaining in the island for drafts to other regiments.[1] His policy did not endanger the safety of Ireland, for which he relied on the fleet, while no force could have obviated small raids like Thurot's. Nor did he believe in Bedford's timorous pleas about civil disaffection. He was an Irishman himself on his mother's side, and had an uncle, Lord Grandison, and a brother-in-law, Mr. Needham, who lived in Ireland and kept him informed of the country's state of feeling.[2] Unmoved by the fears of an indolent and absentee lord-lieutenant, he judged that a few French emissaries among the Papists did not portend disloyalty in the great mass of the population.

The Irish were sound, but they needed stirring up to defend themselves; and Bedford was not the man to stir them. At the Cabinet held on May 8, 1759, to discuss plans of defence, Bedford himself was present and in answer to his complaints of the reduced establishment in Ireland was instructed to issue commissions of array in Ulster, arm the Protestants, and beat up

[1] For Pitt's requisitions on Ireland see Record Office—*Foreign, Various*, 68–71 (the Irish Correspondence), also *Bedford Corr., passim*. Pitt generally ordered the drafts to be put on the English establishment for pay, but the complete battalions and regiments sent abroad were kept on the Irish establishment. The infantry battalions sent to America and Africa in 1757 and 1758 were replaced by Pitt during the invasion scare of 1759.

[2] See *Chatham MSS.* 33 for Grandison's letters, especially one of February 1755 dilating on the loyalty of Ireland to England.

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recruits to complete the regiments below strength. Pitt himself did his part. He sent two regiments from Bristol to Belfast in May 1759, and in his dispatches exhorted Bedford to 'use the utmost endeavours to animate and excite loyal people to exert their well-known zeal and spirit in support of government and in defence of all that is dear to them.' But Bedford preferred to nurse his grievances and did not trouble to return to Ireland until October. He then broke up encampments and dispersed the soldiers because of bad weather, complained that he could not raise the paltry 1,600 recruits needed, and refused to call out the militia in Ulster because it would interfere with the linen trade: it was difficult, he remarked, 'to infuse spirit without depressing too much.' In spite of this misplaced tenderness for Irish susceptibilities his government was extremely unpopular, owing partly to suspicions of the financial integrity of his subordinates, partly to rumours of an intended union with England. Early in December 1759 the mob invaded the Parliament House, put an old woman in the Speaker's chair, and for some hours had Dublin at its mercy. Bedford showed signal incompetence in dealing with this riot and tracking out the ringleaders. His want of statesmanlike forethought in providing for the country's defence was equally manifest when Thurot landed in Ulster in the following February. Colonel Jennings's small force at Carrickfergus had only a few rounds of ammunition and was therefore forced to surrender, while Bedford's zeal for the linen industry of Belfast left the town so unprepared to defend it that it humbly complied with Thurot's demand for stores.

While Bedford was lamenting that he could raise no recruits, public-spirited men like Lord Drogheda and Pitt's friend, Sir James Caldwell, easily raised horse and foot at their own expense.[1] But Pitt, in spite of the 'honour and respect

[1] Caldwell consulted Pitt about the uniform for his light horse, and suggested hussar dress. 'No,' said Pitt, 'it would be injudicious to take off the eye by any whimsical peculiarity of dress from the essential dignity of your corps which will consist in having your men well-chosen, disciplined, mounted and dressed in the regimentals of your country. It will be to their honour to appear like firm and determined soldiers, not like scampering hussars.' (*Chatham MSS.* 70.)

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he had for the Irish nation,' was disgusted at the general apathy reported by Bedford. However genuine might be the zeal of his Majesty's Protestant subjects in Ireland, he told Bedford,

> the almost total inefficacy of that zeal, though ever so real . . . cannot but administer here much just grounds of wonder and concern. . . . The looms and manufactures are most deservedly tender points to the proprietors in that opulent kingdom,

he admitted, but could not help drawing a contrast between the 14,000 militia raised in England and the inability of Irish Protestants to find the 1,600 recruits required of them. To Caldwell he poured out his indignation in private, and in the House of Commons inveighed bitterly, according to Lucas, against all the people of Ireland, bidding the Irish members acquaint their friends at home that 'however they may talk of their zeal for the service of the government, the City furnished more men by their single subscription than all the kingdom of Ireland did in a whole year.'[1] Bedford himself Pitt addressed in tones of haughty rebuke, which the proud little duke never forgave. He was gravely sarcastic about his tenderness to the Ulster manufacturers; but after the serious riots in Dublin he frankly warned him that he must show more vigilance, asked him why the 'laws were losing all energy, magistracy all authority, and Parliament all reverence,' and required him not to permit the recurrence of 'outrageous and atrocious insults and violence against the highest and most sacred parts of government.' He pressed him again and again to bring the culprits to justice and drew attention to the misleading reports on Ireland given to the Cabinet by Bedford personally.[2] In March 1760 Bedford

November 26, 1759.

[1] Lucas adds: 'O! how my soul was fired with indignation at the base unjust representation; and how I longed for an opportunity of answering and lashing the flattering triumphant orator, upon this occasion at least.' (*Historical MSS. Commission*, XII, x, p. 254.) See also Walpole, *George II*, iii, 235.

[2] See Pitt's letter of January 5, 1760 (*Bedford Corr.* ii, 399), and the Irish Correspondence of December 1759–January 1760 in Record Office—*Foreign, Various*, 68–71.

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came for another holiday to England and early in George III's reign resigned his post.

Before that Pitt had one more bout with him. According to custom the English Privy Council sent over heads of bills to be considered by the new Irish Parliament summoned at the beginning of the reign. Among these was a money bill, which the Lords Justices returned on the plea that the Irish House of Commons alone could grant taxes. This claim had long been a subject of dispute. Bedford carried most of the Cabinet with him in rejecting it peremptorily. But Pitt stood out against them. While no more enlightened than his contemporaries in his belief that Ireland could only be ruled through the Protestant minority, he was as jealous for the Irish Parliament's rights of taxation as for those of his own House. He refused, therefore, to sign the letter ordering the Lords Justices to present the bill, and afterwards, when Bedford dismissed his Chancellor of the Exchequer, Malone, for supporting the Lords Justices' view, sent him a scornful letter, regretting that he had not been consulted, since he 'should have doubted the expediency of such a step and thought that it required to be more maturely weighed.'[1] As in the case of the Habeas Corpus and the militia, Pitt's Irish policy was more enlightened than that of his contemporaries. But by his scornful treatment of the man through whom he had to work he lost all power of influencing his actions in Ireland. Indeed he caused Bedford to detest him so cordially that he would hardly allow that Pitt had any merit even as an orator :[2] and unfortunately Bedford and his connection were to gain great influence in the next reign.

[1] See *Bedford Corr.* ii, 428 and iii, 6, and Walpole, *George III*, i, 31–2. Compare with this incident Pitt's opposition to the Whigs in 1773 on the proposed Irish absentee tax (see below, pp. 292–3). It is interesting to note, in reference to Malone, whom Pitt thus took under his protection, the comparison made by Sackville: 'For a popular assembly I would choose Mr. Pitt; for a Privy Council Murray; for twelve wise men Malone.' (Lecky, *History of Ireland*, i, 463.)

[2] Viry to Solar, September 4, 1762 (*Lansdowne House MSS.* vol. x).

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III.—Pitt and the Finance of his War

Pitt was very sensitive about the constantly increasing budgets during his ministry. The covert opposition of men like Bedford, Newcastle and Holderness, who had felt the lash of his tongue, he thought he could ignore as long as he had the support of the people; but, when plain citizens like Clive's father twitted him on the enormous debt, he recognised that the most serious danger to this support would be a popular outcry against the extravagance of the war. He often, therefore, rudely reminded Newcastle and Legge, who were primarily responsible for revenue and expenditure, that, though he expected all his demands for money to be instantly satisfied, he was keeping a vigilant eye on Treasury methods of administration.

The financial system of the country, even as simplified by Pelham's reforms,[1] did not lend itself easily to the extraordinary demands made by Pitt for the Seven Years' War. Instead of a single Consolidated Fund, there were four—the Civil List, South Sea, Aggregate, and General Funds, each fed by separate taxes or proportions of taxes and each earmarked for the payment of separate charges and debt-services. Any surpluses arising from these four funds were paid into the Sinking Fund, which was nominally for the redemption of debt, but in an emergency was drawn upon for current services. The revenue was derived mainly from three sources, the land tax, the malt tax, and tonnage and poundage on imports and a few exports. The land tax, by an indulgent system of assessment, was levied on only half the actual value of land and on scarcely one-fiftieth of personal property; though it normally stood at 2*s.* in the pound, in war time it was invariably raised to 4*s.* when it brought in about £2,000,000. The malt tax in 1756 was 6¼*d.* a bushel; in 1760 Legge raised it to 9¼*d.*, which brought in an average yield of £750,000. Tonnage and poundage could be reckoned at a mean of 20 per cent. on all imports, to which Legge added a further 5 per cent.

[1] See vol. i, pp. 168–9.

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in 1759. Before the war the average revenue of Great Britain from all sources came to under £7,000,000: with the increase to the land tax and the extra malt and import duties it barely exceeded £8,500,000.[1] Under the existing system of finance it was difficult to add appreciably to this total. Even with its low assessment the land tax of 4*s*. was considered a grievous burden; while most articles of import were either taxed beyond the most remunerative point or entirely prohibited.[2]

But Pitt's world-wide campaigns, though extraordinarily cheap compared with later wars, could not be carried on for eight or nine millions a year. In 1757, it is true, the supplies voted amounted to only £8,509,000, but in 1758 they rose to £10,486,000, in 1759 were £12,761,000, in 1760 £15,503,000, in 1761 £19,616,000,[3] and in 1762 £18,299,000.[4] Part of the deficit for these years was met by drawing on the Sinking Fund, part by new loans. Lyttelton raised a loan of

[1] Dowell (*History of Taxation*, vol. ii, chap. v) estimates the revenue for 1755 as follows:—

Customs	£1,780,000
Excise (including malt tax)	3,660,000
Land tax at 2*s*.	1,000,000
Window tax, duties on pensions and offices	235,000
Stamps	137,000
	£6,812,000

Sinclair (*History of the Public Revenue*, vol. i) gives the revenue for 1759 as follows:—

Customs	£1,985,376
Excise (including malt tax)	3,887,349
Land tax at 4*s*.	1,737,608
Incidents	650,000
Stamps	263,207
	£8,523,540

[2] For this sketch of the financial system in Pitt's time see Dowell, *loc cit.*, Adam Smith, Sinclair, *loc cit.*, *An Account of the Revenue of the Crown, by Mr. Legge* (*Lansdowne House MSS.* 116) and *Chatham MSS.* 81.

[3] In normal years the Civil List of £800,000 was not voted with the supplies of the year, being met by special taxes not included in the annual revenue of the country. But in 1761, the first year of the new reign, the Civil List appeared on the estimates, and the taxes to meet it were voted for the reign.

[4] In 1762 the Prussian subsidy of £670,000 was not voted.

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£2,000,000 in 1756; Legge, £3,000,000 in 1757, £5,000,000 in 1758, £6,600,000 in 1759, £8,000,000 in 1760, £12,000,000 in 1761; Barrington £12,000,000 in 1762. But these sums do not represent the total amount of debt incurred, which was considerably increased by lottery prizes and annuities thrown in to induce subscribers to be content with 3 per cent. interest. Altogether by the end of the war the national debt, reduced by Pelham's operations to £72,000,000 in 1755, had been brought up to nearly £150,000,000.[1]

Most of the economists and politicians of the time were aghast at these budgets and loans. Hume, writing on Public Credit four years before the war, took the gloomiest view then of the nation's indebtedness: 'It must, indeed,' he said, 'be one of these two events: either the nation must destroy public credit, or public credit will destroy the nation.' Adam Smith, writing in the middle of the American war, was doubtful whether the nation 'could support, without great distress, a burden a little greater than what has already been laid upon her.' Pelham thought a budget of £10,000,000 and a debt of £78,000,000 almost destructive of the country's credit,[2] and nearly every pamphleteer who wrote against Pitt during the war laid the greatest stress on the bankruptcy and ruin which was bound to overtake the country as a result of his extravagance. Smollett added a barb to the shaft when he pointed out with malevolent exactitude that in the budget of 1760 a sum of £2,344,486 16*s.* 7¾*d.* was

> paid to foreigners for supporting the war in Germany . . . during the administration of those who declared in Parliament (the words still sounding in our ears) that not a man, nor even half a man, should be sent from Great Britain to Germany to fight the battles of any foreign elector.[3]

Undoubtedly, considering the comparative poverty of the country in Pitt's time, both budgets and loans were high.

[1] Adam Smith (Book V, chap. iii) reckons that, after various adjustments had been made and the estimated value of life annuities included, the debt in 1764 was about £147,000,000. This figure corresponds very closely with that given in *The Present State of the Nation*, published in 1768, as well as with that of Sir John Sinclair, who wrote in 1803.

[2] See vol. i, p. 169.

[3] *History*, Book III, chap. xii.

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Reckoning the population of Great Britain at 8,000,000 in 1762, the expenditure for that year came to nearly £2 10*s.*, and the debt charge to over £18 per head of the population. How high this was may be seen from the fact that in 1902, at the end of the South African war, when the country was immeasurably richer and the value of money much lower, the annual expenditure per head was only £4 and the debt charge no more than £19.[1]

When Pitt became Secretary of State he saw too well the connection between the success of his campaigns and the policy of the Treasury to allow Newcastle and Legge to manage the country's finances without his interference. Unfortunately this interference was not uniform or consistent. Sometimes, according to the theory of departmental government then universally held, he ostentatiously disclaimed all responsibility for finance, and talked both in public and private as if it were a matter from which he was entirely detached. In such moods he would give it to be understood that it was his business to call forth fleets and armies and direct their operations, the Treasury's to provide the money for such purposes and see that it was not wastefully administered. In 1759, for example, after complaining to the Duke of Newcastle of the uncertainty and procrastination of the Treasury, he added that he had no intention

by any public statement to be understood as buffeting Mr. Legge, which he did not mean. Finance was not his department: he could not therefore be held responsible for it; but he hoped those whose particular province it was would take this very interesting affair [of public credit] into their most serious consideration, and think of applying some remedy before it was too late.[2]

[1] In 1762 Ireland had separate taxes and a separate debt. There are no exact figures available for the population of Great Britain in 1762, but Fullarton, *Gazetteer of the World*, estimates that of England and Wales at 6¾ millions, to which 1½ millions may be added for Scotland. In 1772 Pennant estimated the population of England and Scotland at 10,000,000, a slightly higher figure than Fullarton's for 1770 (Pinkerton, *Voyages*, iii, 477). In 1902 the population of the United Kingdom was 41½ millions, the budget balanced at about £179¾ millions, and the national debt stood at about £765½ millions.

[2] *Add. MSS.* 32890, f. 223, Memorandum by Newcastle on *The Present State of Affairs at Home and Abroad* (April 21, 1759). See, however, below, pp. 52–5, Pitt's idea of 'not buffeting Mr. Legge.'

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But this was too detached an attitude for Pitt to keep up consistently. 'I find Mr. Pitt will be very meddling in all these affairs . . . he wanted plainly to give me directions what to do,'[1] is usually the burden of Newcastle's complaints about Pitt's attitude on finance. On the cost of the German operations especially Newcastle had many bad quarters of an hour with Pitt. They were the least popular part of the war, and also the most extravagant. This extravagance was partly due to Newcastle's habit, from subservience to the King, of passing the German accounts without close examination. In the spring of 1758 Pitt was aghast at the prodigious expense,

> . . . the establishments so high, the allowances so excessive in quantity . . . the demand of forage . . . is preposterous and would revolt all the world. I wish to God I could see my way through this mountain of expense.[2]

He even accused the poor old duke of wilfully passing an exorbitant demand for the Hessian troops' forage, in order to render the war, 'his war,' odious and impracticable.[3] In the autumn of the same year Newcastle suddenly informed Pitt that a loan of £12,000,000 would be required for the service of 1759. Pitt had reckoned on half that amount, and on investigation discovered the excess to be chiefly due to an impudent demand of Munchausen, which Newcastle had meekly accepted, to double the cost of the German troops. There was an explosion and a threat of resignation from Pitt before Newcastle was brought to his senses. The excessive estimate was withdrawn, the amount of the loan halved, and Pitt restored to good humour. He could now, he said, go down to the House in the highest spirits; and, Newcastle tells the King, he spoke 'with the greatest respect of your Majesty's electorate and expressed the highest gratitude to your Majesty for risking the ruin and destruction of your electoral dominions

[1] *Add. MSS.* 32912, f. 164.

[2] *Chatham Corr.* i, 305.

[3] *Add. MSS.* 32918, f. 467. According to the Prussian envoys (Schaefer, II[1] 562) there was some ground for Pitt's suspicions that some of the Treasury officials, merely to spite him, were wasteful of the national resources. Newcastle, at any rate, was quite innocently incompetent.

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for the sake of this country.'[1] But Pitt was not pacified for long. His often repeated homilies on extravagance wrung from the distracted duke the comment that it was amazing the person who by his measures had run up all this expense should grumble at it;[2]

> such treatment [he declared to Hardwicke] from one whom I have nourished and served is not and cannot be borne . . . he will be Treasurer, Secretary, General, and Admiral. The first he shall not be whilst I am there. I . . . am determined to ask leave to retire the moment the session is over.

Legge, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had an even more uncomfortable time. His refusal in 1755 to pay the Hessian subsidy without the sanction of Parliament proved to be a solitary instance of courage.[3] He afterwards earned Pitt's contempt by his treachery in 1757[4] and by the want of confidence he showed in the country's resources. When Pitt felt contempt he was not backward in showing it: Legge he spoke of to Newcastle as 'a little low genius,'[5] and made no scruple about attacking his finance publicly in the House of Commons. In 1758 Legge was so much provoked by his criticisms that he resigned in a pet, but returned to his post after a few days of intense anxiety to the Duke of Newcastle.

The budget debates of 1759 are amusing to read in the light of Pitt's remark that 'finance was not his province,' and that he did not mean 'to buffet Mr. Legge.' There had been considerable discussion in the Cabinet as to the best way of raising additional taxation. Pitt urged a graduated tax on shops, but Legge, thinking the graduation would be too difficult, suggested that the tax should be uniform, whatever the shop's

[1] *Add. MSS.* 32884, f. 27; 32885, ff. 484 *seqq.*; 32886, f. 323. Newcastle indeed was incorrigible. In the following year he urged Granby to pass the Hanoverian accounts without investigation, which Granby very properly refused to do. Finally the complaints of wastefulness by the Treasury commissariat officers in Germany and of their scanty provision for the troops became so persistent that Pitt insisted on an independent committee of inquiry, much to the duke's disgust. (See Waddington, iv, 251, and Manners, *Granby*, pp. 89, 123–5, 161, 201.)

[2] *Add. MSS.* 32890, f. 130.

[3] See vol. i, p. 262.

[4] See vol. i, p. 310.

[5] *Add. MSS.* 32912, f. 164.

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earnings. This suggestion was so obviously unfair that it was withdrawn by Legge for a special tax on sugar.[1] But sugar would not do at all for Pitt. The mercantile interest, especially that of the West Indian sugar planters, was always an object of his particular attention. Not that he neglected the landed interest, which most of his contemporaries still looked upon as the tender plant to be nurtured, but he saw better than most that without the wealth of his friends the City merchants England's extraordinary exertions in this war would have been impossible. He was, too, a protectionist, not so much for economic reasons as from a deep-seated belief that trade regulations were the links that held the British possessions together.[2]

When, therefore, Legge's proposal to tax sugar came before the House, Pitt warmly supported Beckford's opposition to it. Beckford's wearisome disquisition on his favourite topic had been greeted with many 'horse laughs.' When he sat down, 'Sugar, Mr. Speaker,' began Pitt, and again a 'horse laugh,' more hesitating, was heard. 'Sugar, Mr. Speaker,' thundered Pitt; and, in the dead silence that followed, 'Sugar, Mr. Speaker,' he whispered in his most dulcet tone: 'who will laugh at sugar now?' He then launched out into a panegyric of Beckford, whose friendship had been one of the few glories of his life, and who had deserved as well of his country as any servant of the Crown. He also praised Sir Josiah Child, whose theories of trade had been quoted by Beckford, speaking of him as one whose character was known wherever a ship sailed, and who was not only a great mercantile writer but fit to govern a great Empire or to make a little

March 9, 1759.

[1] For these proposals see *Chatham MSS.* 81, *Add. MSS.* 32887, f. 428, and 32888, f. 404. For a criticism of the uniform shop tax see Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, Book V, chap. iii.

[2] This comes out most clearly in his speeches on America, *e.g.* in his first speech of January 14, 1766, and in his difference with Burke on free ports in Dominica and Jamaica and on cotton-planting in the latter island. (See below, pp. 183.) Pitt's mercantile theory is very much the same as that originally preached by Mr. Chamberlain in his early speeches on tariff reform. It is interesting to note that at this time Hume had already expressed free trade principles in his *Essays* published in 1752 (see especially his essay, 'Of the Jealousy of Trade').

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kingdom a great one ;[1] and yet Child himself could not have spoken with more weight than Beckford. Why should the name of sugar be greeted indecently with a 'horse laugh'? A mention of land or corn would have been received with respect, yet they were hardly more staple industries of the nation than sugar. An additional 5 per cent. tax on sugar would, he prophesied, be regretted even by those who proposed it. His own proposal had been for a graduated tax on shops ; unpopular as such a tax might be in London, he would proclaim his belief in it if he were to be stoned for it in the streets. But the prejudices of mankind could not be ignored : a tax on currants, if represented with warmth and rage as a tax on the national plum-pudding, might prove the undoing of a ministry. Then he turned savagely on Legge. Opening his attack with that awful humility, which he sometimes assumed when he wished to send a cold shudder down the backs of his hearers, he called himself a mere drudge of office, an instrument of government thrust into office by a thousand incomprehensible accidents ; then held up to ridicule the hand-to-mouth methods of the Treasury, always suggesting taxes in a hurry, instead of thinking out a permanent and well-digested scheme of finance that should soar above the present irrational system. Carried on by his subject he proceeded to sketch the lines on which he should work if he were at the Exchequer, declaring himself a convert to Walpole's idea of an open port in London and inland duties as best fitted for a mercantile community, if only the excise and right of search were safeguarded by jury trials. He ended by saying he should vote for the budget, but added '*video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor*.' This speech from the man who meant 'not to buffet him' alarmed Legge so much that he substituted a general import duty for his special tax on sugar, and proposed to adopt Pitt's suggestion of opening bonded warehouses for tobacco.[2]

Pitt's rough hand was needed to drive on timorous col-

[1] There is a certain piquancy in this panegyric from the grandson of the man whom Child had called 'a roughling immoral man.' (See vol. i, p. 15.)

[2] For this debate see Walpole, *George II*, iii, 176–9, and West's account to Newcastle in *Add. MSS.* 32888, f. 428.

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leagues to find resources for the war. Every year Newcastle and Legge came to him with doleful faces saying that funds could not be raised and that another campaign would ruin England. They had some excuse for their apprehensions. The war was ushered in by a bad year, the constant drain of specie to Germany for subsidies and pay made coin scarce in England and required special remedies,[1] and a wasteful system of raising loans was persisted in from a desire to keep the nominal interest at 3 per cent.[2] But Pitt would hear of no relaxation of effort. He was always in favour of new taxes rather than increased loans, and exclaimed against Newcastle's habit of anticipating more than a year's revenue from the Sinking Fund.[3] When Legge proposed a five per cent. tax on official salaries he characteristically suggested making it 33⅓ per cent. while the war lasted.[4] If taxes failed, then recourse must be had to loans; for Pitt's objection to waste was not inconsistent with large ideas of public expenditure:

> A great nation's expenses [he told the House of Commons after his resignation] in a war so widespread and so complicated as that in which England was engaged could not be measured with that precision and parcimony possible in the case of a private individual's charges for an object of small extent.[5]

To Legge's truism that 'no nation can afford a greater quantity of war of any species than it is able to pay for,' and to Newcastle's complaint that 'we can't go on this foot another year,' Pitt retorted with asperity that at any rate we

[1] At a Cabinet Council held on February 28, 1759, it was resolved to meet the scarcity of coin by (1) allowing the exportation of corn forbidden since the bad harvests of 1756 and 1757; (2) passing a law forbidding the melting down of coin. (*Add. MSS.* 32998, f. 274.)

[2] See *The Present State of the Nation* (1768). This pamphlet, mainly a violent attack on Pitt's finance, though written by Knox, was inspired by George Grenville. (See *Historical MSS. Commission—Various*, vi, 99.) Its chief importance lies in the fact that it provoked Burke's *Observations . . . on the Present State of the Nation*. Almost the only criticism of Grenville not confuted by Burke is that directed against this method of raising loans.

[3] Yorke, *Hardwicke*, iii, 246, 249.

[4] *Add. MSS.* 32884, f. 27; Torrens, ii, 446.

[5] Schæfer, II², 742 (Prussian envoy's report of November 17, 1761).

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could afford the war better than France, then notoriously bankrupt.[1]

This confidence in the country's commercial stability was justified; each year, while Legge and Newcastle croaked, the loans placed on the market were fully subscribed.[2] Pitt himself, discussing the question of funds with Newcastle in 1760, breezily pointed to the returns of East India trade, which by itself, he said, would justify a loan of £16,000,000.[3] This commercial prosperity was no passing symptom. Burke in his 'Observations,' written in 1769, showed that the extra taxes imposed on beer and malt in the Seven Years' War were so little burdensome that consumption actually increased under them. In 1776 Adam Smith says of the country that

> at the conclusion of the late war, the most expensive ever waged, her agriculture was as flourishing, her manufacturers as numerous and as fully employed, and her commerce as extensive as they had ever been before. The capital, therefore, which supported all those different branches of industry, must have been equal to what it had ever been before. . . . and since the peace agriculture has been still further improved, the rents of houses have risen, a proof of the increasing wealth and revenue of the people. . . . Great Britain seems to support with ease a burden, which, half a century ago, nobody believed her capable of supporting.[4]

Unfortunately this truth was not so clear to Pitt's contemporaries. As the war went on from year to year, and the 'moun-

[1] Pitt carefully watched the finances of the rival kingdom. In *Chatham MSS.* 74 is a paper marked 'Extracts, Hayes, May 6,' which states that Minden cost France 45,000,000 livres and also, '150,000,000 livres the King owes without any funds for payment; assignments on the dearest revenues for above a year. No more money can be raised on the people after the produce of the $\frac{2}{\text{vingtièmes}}$ are spent.'

[2] *Add. MSS.* 32883, f. 276; 32904 *sqq.*; and Torrens, ii, *passim.*

[3] *Add. MSS.* 32912, f. 164. In that year the total export and import trade with the East Indies was valued at over £3,000,000, compared with £1,725,000 in 1751–2, a year of profound peace. See the trade tables in *Lansdowne House MSS.* 102 (*Revenue*), which show the export and import trade with our colonies and with foreign countries for the years 1751–2, 1757–8, 1758–9, and 1759–60 and for a few other years. Burke also in his *Observations* gives tables showing the rapid development of British trade and shipping between the years 1754 and 1761.

[4] *Wealth of Nations*, Book V, chap. iii.

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tain of expense' was piled higher and higher, the fear became common that even complete victory might leave England bankrupt. The dissatisfaction thus caused centred on Pitt. Small though his actual responsibility was for wasteful methods of expenditure and for the raising of loans and taxes, his colleagues were so alienated by his reproaches and outbursts of ill-humour that they were not disposed to lighten his burden. It was easy for them to confirm the popular opinion and shuffle off their misdeeds by muttering significantly, 'Pitt would be Treasurer, Secretary, General and Admiral.' It was well that Pitt would: less well that in attempting it he was too prone to his grandfather's method of 'banging' those who stood in his path, too forgetful of his own maxim that 'an eagerness and zeal for dispute . . . shows great self-sufficiency.'

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CHAPTER XVI

THE NEW REIGN

ἠλλοίωντο τὰς γνώμας, καὶ τὸν μὲν Περικλέα ἐν αἰτίᾳ εἶχον ὡς πείσαντα σφᾶς πολεμεῖν καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς περιπεπτωκότες.

THUCYDIDES, ii, 59.[1]

ON Saturday, October 25, 1760, George II died suddenly of an apoplectic fit at the age of seventy-seven. Only a short time before, Pitt, in a moment of irritation, had exclaimed that 'serving the King might be a duty, but it was the most disagreeable thing imaginable to those who had that honour.'[2] But though sometimes provoked by his obstinacy in details of administration, for the last three years Pitt had not been seriously hampered by the King. With all his faults George II was a good judge of a man: he had too many causes of offence ever to love Pitt, but he accepted him grudgingly as inevitable, and even came to respect him for his ability, courage, and steadfastness. Above all Pitt always knew where he stood with him. Contrasting him many years later with his successor, 'the late good old King,' said Lord Chatham, '. . . possessed justice, truth, and sincerity in an eminent degree; so that it was possible to know if he liked you or disliked you.'[3]

His grandson, George III, with all the old King's obstinate prejudices and little of his common sense, was respectable in his private life. Unfortunately he had been

[1] 'They changed their mind and blamed Pericles for promoting the war and being the cause of their troubles.'

[2] Torrens, ii, 556.

[3] See below, p. 270. The contrast was not actually expressed, but, from the context, is obviously implied.

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taught to draw a sharp distinction between his private and his royal qualities. Brought up in a secluded Court which was always the object of the old King's hostility, he had from childhood learned to use dissimulation, the weapon of the oppressed. His father, Frederick, Prince of Wales, a persistent and unsuccessful intriguer, had spent the last years of his life with a few disappointed politicians drawing up secret plans for the revolution with which he proposed to inaugurate his reign. His first declaration to the Council and first King's Speech were prepared, and every moment of his time during the first fortnight of his reign ready mapped out. Every prominent servant of the Crown, including Pelham, Newcastle, Hardwicke, Bedford, Anson, Fox, and Pitt, was to be discarded and replaced by Egmont, 'Lord Dodington,' and the like. He had even been to the trouble of going through the roll of members of parliament and preparing lists 'of those who must if possible be kept out of the House of Commons' and of those who were to supplant them. Pitt, with whom he was then outwardly resuming friendly relations,[1] appears in the list of those to be kept out of the House and was to be conveniently relegated to the embassy at Turin.[2] Frederick's widow, a dark, intriguing woman, was well fitted to continue his teaching after his death in 1751. She made difficulties with the governors and instructors appointed by the King for her son George, a lad of ten when his father died, and at a time of national danger gave the King and the Ministry no peace until she had forced them to accept her favourite, Lord Bute, as Groom of the Stole in the Prince's household.

John, Earl of Bute, was a pompous, pedantic Scotsman, who had a genuine love for his pupil but little else to recommend him. Early in life he had lived in the proud seclusion of his

[1] See vol. i, pp. 186–7.

[2] In the wooden box numbered 277 among the *Egmont MSS.* are full details of this scheme—which appears to have been 'settled at Carlton House—after dinner—April 1750. Present:—The Prince, Earl of Carlisle, Earl of Egmont, Lord Chief Justice Willes, Dr. Lee.' During the first three days of the new reign, 'none will be seen in private but the most particular friends and those most privately; for though His Majesty [*i.e.* Frederick] will be incapable of being shaken in his Resolutions, yet any interviews or audiences will create doubts.' A few days before his death Frederick gave the papers to Egmont.

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castle in Scotland and had exhibited an inclination to patronize the arts. Amateur theatricals first brought him to the notice of Frederick, Prince of Wales, who after some experience of him said that he would make 'an excellent ambassador in any court where there was nothing to do.' He appears himself to have been aware that his capacity for a public part was limited, but he had an unbounded belief in the soundness of his private counsels. He and the Princess between them had thoroughly drilled the young Prince of Wales in the traditional policy of Leicester House. 'George, be a king' was his mother's constant exhortation to him, and Bute reinforced that advice by practical examples of successful intrigue, not the least successful being that which gained him his own post in the household. They were also careful that the prince's political education should be based on a full appreciation of the royal prerogative. Blackstone, whose lectures, delivered to the University of Oxford in 1758, contained higher notions of the prerogative than were then common, was pressed into the service. But the ideas of Pitt's early, but soon discarded, mentor, Bolingbroke, were the most influential in forming George III's views of his duties and privileges. The 'Idea of a Patriot King,' written in 1738 and published in 1749, had from the first supplied the watchword of policy to Leicester House. In this treatise Bolingbroke elaborates his favourite theory that all the evils of the State are due to a system of party government, whereby one faction can by corruption maintain a monopoly of power. His one panacea for these evils is a patriot King: 'A corrupt people whom law cannot correct may be restrained and corrected by a kingly power. Here is the hinge on which the whole turns.' The patriot king must govern as soon as he begins to reign, he must dismiss the previous corrupt ministers and call to administration 'such men as he can assure himself will serve on the same principles on which he intends to govern; . . . he will espouse no party, much less will he proscribe any,' and he will govern a people 'united in their submission to him.' To attain his virtuous ends he may use dissimulation as a shield, but above all he must never cast off his cloak of decorum or 'bienséance.'

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The treatise concludes with a rhapsody on the golden age which is to appear with 'that greatest and most glorious of human beings, a patriot king':—

> What indeed can be so lovely, what so venerable, as to contemplate a king on whom the eyes of a whole people are fixed, filled with admiration and glowing with affection? . . . What spectacle can be presented to the view of the mind so rare, so nearly divine, as a king possessed of absolute power, neither usurped by fraud nor maintained by force, but the genuine effect of esteem, of confidence, and affection? The free gift of liberty . . . concord will appear, brooding peace and prosperity on the happy land; joy sitting in every face, content in every heart; a people unoppressed, undisturbed, unalarmed; busy to improve their private property and public stock; fleets covering the ocean . . . asserting triumphantly the right and the honour of Great Britain as far as waters roll and as winds can waft them.

As a political treatise Bolingbroke's 'Patriot King' is flashy and superficial. It makes no practical suggestions for abolishing corruption or creating a national policy, but insinuates that a prince's vague intentions for the benefit of his people are sufficient to make him the beneficent monarch described with so much eloquence. Nevertheless there was value in the underlying ideas, which have been the aim of every statesman great enough to perceive that party is at best a means to an end, and that on some great issues a nation must unite irrespective of parties. Pitt always fought against the party system, and as a minister gave offence to his orthodox Whig friends by the support he obtained from Tories and his willingness to encourage them. He had rejoiced in the appointment of North, a Tory, to the Treasury in 1759, as 'likely to meet the approbation of the public,'[1] and more recently had emphasised his freedom from party ties on a bill introduced by Tories to enforce the property qualification on members of Parliament. The Whigs during their long domination had evaded this qualification, but Pitt, without abating his devotion to the commercial interest, thought land should be 'the turnpike to get into the House.' April 21 and May 2, 1760.

[1] *Add. MSS.* 32891, f. 257.

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I am neither Whig nor Tory [he had said in the debates on this bill], but venerate the memory of King William and shall die by the principles of the Revolution . . . . I have been called an adventurer in tempestuous times, but I came only because I was called; and nothing would make me stay but the continuance of union and the support of the landed interest in this House, without which I could never have helped to load the country with fifteen millions of taxation . . . I have been charged with striking a bargain with the Tories, but I know of no bargains or demands which it is uncandid for me to name. . . . I shall always think it better for government to act with a whole nation than with only a party. I mean the whole, and to show the common enemy our fixed union.[1]

Thus Pitt and the pundits of Leicester House had a common aim in the destruction of faction; but their ultimate objects were as the poles asunder. Their idea was to wrest the monopoly of power from the Whig party in order to place it in the hands of one man, Pitt's in order to place it in the hands of the whole people. Dodington, writing to Bute a few weeks after George III's accession, revealed the object of Bute and his friends:

Remember, my noble and generous friend, that to recover monarchy from the inveterate usurpation of oligarchy is a point too arduous and important to be achieved without much difficulty and some degree of danger.[2]

Opposed to this idea of 'recovering monarchy' was Pitt's conception of 'acting with the whole nation rather than with only a party.' Frederick, Prince of Wales, writing to Egmont in the character of the Patriot King, had said: 'Let us remember both Henry IV and Sully; in all times these are our models; let us follow them in most all except in their extravagancies.'[3] But Frederick's choice of Egmont for his Sully, his son's of Lord Bute, showed how little they cared for the nation. Pitt himself was quite willing to have a patriot king, but his idea

[1] See Walpole, *George II*, iii, 279; Torrens, ii; 545; 33 Geo. II, c. 20; and *Add. MSS.* 32905, f. 246. In the committee on the bill he opposed enforcing the qualification by exacting an oath from all members. 'He was an enemy to an oath,' he declared, 'and heartily wished to see the oath of the elected and all Custom House oaths repealed.' (*Add. MSS.* 32905, f. 70.)

[2] Adolphus, i, 479.

[3] *Egmont MSS.* 277.

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of the Sully was himself, the one man in England who could faithfully interpret the nation to the King and guide him to a patriotic because national policy.

Pitt and Bute had once been on excellent terms. Pitt had supported Bute's ambition to be Groom of the Stole, and Bute, as representing the heir-apparent's interests, had taken a prominent part in the negotiations which led to Pitt's return to power in the summer of 1757. In the early days of the ministry Pitt and Bute corresponded freely, Pitt sending early intelligence of events abroad, Bute encouraging his 'worthy' or 'dearest' friend with loftily worded expressions of his own and the young Prince's approval.'[1] But towards the end of 1758 a rift appeared. Bute expressed dissatisfaction with Pitt because Bligh, a favourite at Leicester House, was not welcomed at Court after his failure at St. Cast;[2] in other ways, too, Pitt was becoming independent of Leicester House. The two met in December 1758 to discuss their grievances. 'You are becoming too reserved,' said Bute. 'Holderness, I find, informs you of all that is material,' answered Pitt, 'and I am too busy to supplement this with every trifling detail that occurs.' Bute then opened on plans for the coming reign, and quarrelled with Pitt on the subject of Newcastle. Pitt said it would be impossible to dismiss him. 'What! is he still to engross all patronage as he does now?' exclaimed Bute, and told Pitt tartly that though he himself might be employed he would not be allowed to assign places to ministers when the 'hope of England' came to the throne.[3] The breach was never repaired. Pitt deeply offended Bute and the Prince of Wales by his severity to Sackville,[4] and by another incident equally to his credit. He had endeavoured to persuade the King to allow

[1] *E.g.* Bute to Pitt in August 1757: 'I enter heartily into the base unworthy manner that you have been treated in. . . . Victory is before us, our enemies know it and tremble. Long may you continue, my dear Pitt, in an office that your parts and good heart adorns; may you be found there at that critical moment' [*i.e.* when the 'hope of England' comes to the throne]. (*Chatham MSS.* 24.)

[2] See vol. i, p. 362.

[3] *Add. MSS.* 32886, f. 384; see also f. 411, and 32887, f. 213, and *The Border Elliots*, p. 362 *sqq.*

[4] See above, p. 6.

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the Prince of Wales to attend Council and become initiated in the conduct of affairs; but on the King's blank refusal Pitt had loyally declared that no minister ought to acquaint him with Cabinet secrets and had conformed to the King's wishes.[1]

At the earliest opportunity in the new reign Pitt was made to feel the change in his position. When George III was hurrying back to Kensington after he had received the secret message of his grandfather's death, he met on the road a coach and six with the servants in Mr. Pitt's well-known blue and silver livery. Inside was Mr. Pitt, the first minister who had come to pay his respects to the new King. But George III passed him without a word, and afterwards sent him to wait for hours at Savile House. On being at last admitted to the council chamber Pitt heard the king in his accession declaration speaking of the war—his war—as 'bloody and expensive' and expressing an ardent desire for peace without any reference to the allies, whose interests Pitt felt to be bound up with England's honour. This attack on Pitt's system was deliberate, for, taking a leaf out of Frederick's book, Bute had long ago prepared this declaration for his master's accession.[2] As soon as the King had left, Pitt went up to Bute and demanded an explanation. He told him plainly that it would not be to his Majesty's service that Bute should manage the affairs of the country,[3] and insisted on revising the obnoxious passage of the King's Speech for the Council minute book, so that it should run: 'As I mount the throne in the midst of an expensive, but just and necessary war, I shall endeavour to prosecute it in a manner most likely to bring about an honourable and lasting peace in concert with my allies.' But, though he gained this point, Pitt soon had further evidence that the war was no longer favoured at Court. On

[1] Holderness characteristically took the opposite course, communicating all he knew to the Prince. In the next reign, however, he did not gain much profit by his baseness. It is interesting to find Gladstone making the same request on behalf of Edward VII, when Prince of Wales, and meeting with the same blank refusal from Queen Victoria. (See article 'Edward VII' in *Dictionary of National Biography*.)

[2] See above, p. 59, and Fitzmaurice, *Shelburne*, i, 33.

[3] So Pitt told Thomas Walpole two years later (*Add. MSS.* 32945, f. 1).

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the Monday following, when news came of the Prince of Brunswick's defeat at Clostercamp, of the capture of Berlin, and of Frederic's complete rout in Saxony, some of the new courtiers barely concealed their satisfaction.

> Pitt [said one of them] seems not serene, but bears it higher [than Newcastle] from the natural turn of his insolent temper and from a supposition that his popular interest with the mob and the Tories will force him to be continued at least during the continuance of the war.

A week or two later the same courtier spoke about the mob's 'indecent rejoicings' at Frederic's great victory at Torgau.[1]

In the first months of the new reign Pitt had one of his fits of profound despondency. Bute, he saw, meant to be

> the minister behind the curtain . . . I and my Lord Holderness dangle at Court with a Bag in our hands, but we are not ministers . . . people seeing me with that bag come and ask me questions, which I am no more able to answer than any man in the outer room.[2]

Such a position was to Pitt intolerable.

> I can't bear a touch of command [he had confided to a friend who came with offers of friendship from Bute], my sentiments on politics, like my religion, are my own. The rights of my office are not enough for me; if I am to be in a responsible situation, I cannot be dictated, prescribed to, etc.; neither acting as a friend can I then contend for the closet, or drive measures by national weight as I do at present, where I pretend not friendship with the ministers with whom I act.

To Bute himself he was equally explicit. His private friendship he would welcome, but no division of responsibility: 'if the system of war was to undergo the least shadow of change he could no longer be of any service.' All Pitt then cared for was to see the country 'out of the present plunge,' for he was weary of the 'heats and colds' of the House of Commons. 'My health admonishes me more and more,' he told Newcastle, 'as all other circumstances have long done, how little I am fitted to the great office with which his Majesty has deigned to honour me'; he even spoke of asking the King for

[1] *Egmont MSS.* 277.

[2] *Add. MSS.* 32913, f. 426.

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some honourable retreat, some 'by-standing office.'[1] 'I will make way for my Lord Bute's greatness, assist it; only I cannot make part of it . . . the only difference between us is that his Lordship will practise his philosophy in a court and I in a village.'[2]

Bute meant Pitt to retire to his village, but not too soon. With Pitt's dominating personality overshadowing the Throne, he despaired of seeing the golden age when the eyes of a whole people, 'filled with admiration and glowing with affection,' would be fixed on the patriot king. But, while the war continued, Pitt was indispensable. Bute's own notions about the war 'are very singular,' says Dodington, 'and I believe not thoroughly digested'; but he had at least the good sense to see that Pitt alone could bring it to a successful issue. His chief hope of Pitt's speedy departure from the Ministry rested in the growing unpopularity of the German operations. He had from the outset of the new reign decided to sacrifice the interests of Hanover and Frederic for peace from a belief that such a course would be popular, and was only afraid that Pitt might have made up his mind to do the same, and by forestalling him gain the popularity for himself; but in January 1761 he was reassured and came to Dodington with the joyful news that Pitt was madder than ever, and had no intention of abandoning the Continent. Openly he dared not oppose Pitt, for he still feared him. When he procured a favourable reception at Court for the disgraced Sackville he was once more taken to task by Pitt and brought, says Newcastle, to 'a kind of submission.'[3] His plan, therefore, was secretly to encourage the critics of the continental war, and on Dodington's advice to set coffee-house spies and runners to stir up popular feeling against Pitt.[4]

Bute and Dodington were powerfully assisted in their secret campaign by the extraordinary stir caused in the autumn

[1] It was no doubt when Pitt was in one of these moods that the King said of Holderness and him, 'I have one Secretary who can do nothing and another who will do nothing.' (Walpole, *Memoirs.*)

[2] See *The Border Elliots*, pp. 362–5, and *Add. MSS.* 32918, ff. 358 *sqq.*

[3] *Add. MSS.* 32914, f. 275.

[4] Dodington's *Diary*, pp. 414 *sqq.*

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of 1760 by a pamphlet entitled 'Considerations on the Present German War.' This was written by Israel Mauduit, a dissenting woollen-draper, and partly inspired by no less a person than Lord Hardwicke. Pitt himself would not have quarrelled with some of the suggestions in this able pamphlet, which is written in a tone of studious urbanity and moderation. For example, Mauduit approves of attacks on the French West India Islands and of diversions on the French coast, arguing that, since 'armies at land cannot fly, but armies at sea have wings,' 10,000 Englishmen on board a fleet could occupy 80,000 Frenchmen on land. But there his agreement with Pitt ended. He condemned our interference in the continental war by a course of reasoning which almost recalled Pitt's attacks on Carteret's policy, maintaining that our incursions into Germany were a weakness instead of a strength to our allies, were of no use to Hanover, and of no damage to the French, who could always send a greater force than we could to Germany. He even ventured to attack the popular hero Frederic II, and predicted that another such German campaign as that of 1760 would make England bankrupt.

The effect of his pamphlet was prodigious. 'The Ministry are much out of joint,' writes Gray, 'Mr. Pitt much out of humour, his popularity tottering, chiefly occasioned by a pamphlet against the German war, written by that squeaking acquaintance of ours, Mr. Mauduit.' It gave utterance to the vague anxiety felt by many at the growing expenses of the war and the poor results of the last German campaign, when, in spite of 10,000 English troops, Ferdinand had been driven out of Hesse and away from the Rhine. According to Walpole it even changed the opinion of many who had previously been in favour of the war. It was hailed with joy by new courtiers like Egmont, who had long opposed Pitt and were reminded of Catiline when they contemplated 'his power and the pitch of bustle to which he raised the state.'[1] In the House of Commons it soon found an echo. Parliament opened on November 18, 1760, with the Speech from the Throne in which George III 'gloried in the name of

[1] *Wrest Park MSS.*, Robinson's Memoranda.

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Britain'; the rest of the speech, drafted by Hardwicke and corrected by Pitt, alluded to 'that happy extinction of division and that union and good harmony which continue to prevail amongst my subjects,' and gave no indication that the prosecution of the war was to be relaxed.[1] But in the debate on the Address Pitt's most trusted follower, Beckford, had the hardihood to speak of Ferdinand's last campaign as languid.

November 18, 1760. 'Languid!' exclaimed Pitt, afire in a moment, and proceeded to give Beckford a notable thrashing, repeating 'languid' and 'languor' several times, recalling all the great successes of the war and asking the gentleman if he was still rash and inconsiderate enough to talk of 'languor.' Beckford did not

December 22, 1760. answer, but the shot had gone home. A month later, when proposing the annual subsidy to Frederic, Pitt found, instead of the enthusiasm of former years, a House cold and listless in its support of the Protestant hero. He carried his motion; but the best speech in the debate is said to have been one drawing its inspiration from the 'Considerations.' 'A certain little book, that was found somewhere or other, has made a great many orators in this House,' said Pitt scornfully.[2] A few months later, when Legge had put up the price of strong beer by a penny a pot, the mob took up the cry against the war and hissed the King himself at the theatre.

Unfortunately, at the very time when Pitt needed all the support possible to resist Bute's intrigues and retain full control of the war, Newcastle and he had serious differences of opinion. Bute and the King were as anxious to get rid of Newcastle as of Pitt, for with Newcastle still rested that control over the House of Commons without which the King would remain powerless. But they were wise enough to see

[1] With some difficulty Pitt had also obtained a word of praise for 'the useful and zealous service of the militia.' He had originally proposed stronger words, but finally, after a visit to him from Hardwicke, when he was found with 'his foot upon a cushion,' had agreed to the milder form of eulogy. (*Add. MSS.* 32914, ff. 169, 275.)

[2] Cavendish, *Debates*, i, 574. Rigby (*Bedford Corr.* ii, 426) says of this debate that, if Mauduit was in the gallery and wanted conviction that his arguments were unanswerable, he had it that day to his satisfaction, so feeble and poor in argument was Pitt's speech, and so indifferent the support he received.

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that united Pitt and Newcastle were irresistible and took every advantage of their differences to play one against the other. In the last weeks of George II's reign and the beginning of George III's a proposal by Pitt to make another diversion on the coast of France interrupted, says Newcastle, the harmony which had begun to prevail.[1] Since the failure at St. Cast in 1758 Pitt had dropped these expeditions, but, moved by Ferdinand's precarious position in Germany and by a French threat to reoccupy Wesel in the autumn of 1760, he determined to comply with the urgent requests of Ferdinand and Granby to repeat the experiment.[2]

The point of attack chosen was Belleisle, an island commanding the entrance to Quiberon Bay. It had been recommended to Newcastle in 1747 and to Pitt in 1756 as a useful base on the French coast.[3] Pitt had all the transports ready for an oversea expedition. Earlier in the year he had meant to use them for an attack on Mauritius;[4] in October he had decided on the Belleisle expedition instead. But, on proposing it to the Cabinet, he found Newcastle and Hardwicke averse to sending 5,000 troops and a fleet to the Bay in November. Hawke, who was to command the fleet, was also unfavourable, but Pitt treated his report with scorn as due to the promptings of Newcastle and Hardwicke and persisted in his scheme. Interrupted by George II's death the Cabinet discussions were resumed on November 13, 1760, 'Mr. Pitt pushing it on, answering for the good effects of it, "Belleisle taken would be a place of arms for the next summer, etc."' Hardwicke and Newcastle still opposed, but Bute, who was now admitted to all Cabinet Councils, strongly supported

[1] *Add. MSS.* 32913, f. 183.

[2] *Chatham Corr.* ii, 72 (Granby to Pitt); Manners, *Granby*, p. 165 (Ferdinand to Holderness).

[3] *Chatham MSS.* 85 and 27 (letters of Captain T. Cole and T. Jannsen).

[4] See above, p. 28. From the précis of Admiralty orders in Record Office—*Foreign, Various*, 68–71, it appears that Pitt ordered 15,000 tons of transport to be taken up and victualled on April 17 and May 16, 1759, and on November 27, 1759, ordered them to be kept ready for any purpose he might require during 1760. This method was expensive, but avoided the delays usual in previous ministries in finding the transports and preparing them after an expedition had been decided upon.

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Pitt. 'It would be a blot upon the King's reign to open by laying aside such an expedition,' he said; for, though anxious to encourage the feeling against German operations, he was convinced that a bad and hasty peace would damage the King's popularity. Pitt, therefore, obtained sanction for his expedition, too late, however, for that year.[1]

Early in the reign Pitt had perceived the common danger to which he and Newcastle were exposed, and had suggested to the duke that they should unite in resisting Bute's unconstitutional attempt to govern behind the curtain.[2] But Newcastle could take no long views. He was annoyed at the appointment of some Tories to the household, which Pitt avowed to be according to his advice,[3] and still more disturbed at instructions from Bute for the ensuing elections, to leave the nominations to Treasury boroughs to the King, to spend no public money on buying seats and to allow the electors in the dockyards to vote for whom they pleased.[4] These instructions and the King's answer to Newcastle's request to be allowed to spend some money on the elections—'Nothing, I say, my Lord; I desire to be tried by my country,'—were also known to be in harmony with Pitt's views; and when Newcastle saw Pitt and Bute having 'a long, familiar and serious conversation together,' he forthwith jumped to the conclusion that he had been betrayed, and that they were plotting his ruin.

When, therefore, Bute approached Newcastle with a little plot against Pitt he readily fell into the trap. Bute had refused the offer of the secretaryship, made to him by George III on the first day of his reign, but soon found that, though of the Cabinet Council and consulted on all important matters,

[1] The expedition was, however, carried out successfully in 1761 (see below, p. 90). For these discussions on the Belleisle expedition see *Add. MSS.* 32912, f. 323; 32913, ff. 45, 183, 326; 32914, f. 171; and for the Cabinet of November 13, 1760, Yorke, *Hardwicke*, iii, 311, and *Chatham MSS.* 79. See also Corbett, ii, 95 *sqq.*

[2] *Add. MSS.* 32913, ff. 426, 485.

[3] Gray's *Letters*, December 10. 1760.

[4] It appears, however, that Bute sent secret instructions to Portsmouth for the dockyard men to vote for his nominee Stuart in opposition to Legge, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. (*Bedford Corr.* ii, 423.)

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he was at a disadvantage in having no executive power. Since Pitt had already told him plainly that it would not be to the King's service that he should hold office, Bute determined to compass his aim through Newcastle, before Pitt had any inkling of his intention. He chose Count Viry, the Sardinian minister, as his go-between. Viry, 'a stupid animal in appearance,' says Selwyn, had an extraordinary position at St. James's, due to his genius for intrigue. The friend of every English political faction, he wormed out the secrets of each and retailed them to the others, without ever losing the confidence of any. When orders for his recall came from Turin, Pitt joined with Newcastle in earnest appeals to the King of Sardinia that he should be allowed to remain. Pages of Newcastle's correspondence are filled with reports from 'C.V.' of what Pitt was saying, what Leicester House or Mr. Legge were thinking. With the new reign Viry transferred the cream of his confidences from Newcastle to Bute.

One day in January 1761 Viry came to Newcastle with a suggestion that Bute should take the place of Holderness as Secretary of State for the Northern Department. For Holderness a sinecure could easily be procured, and the feelings of a time-server, such as he had proved himself, were not to be considered: but what would be Pitt's attitude, reflected the duke, for Pitt's displeasure was not lightly to be incurred. Several times Viry returned to the charge, without appreciable effect in deciding the duke, until by a brilliant inspiration he hinted that if Newcastle did not propose the change Pitt's friends might. This settled Newcastle's doubts. He consulted Devonshire and Hardwicke, who had also been approached by Viry, and agreed to advise the King to make Bute Secretary of State. The King was, of course, prepared for the advice and promised to make another attempt to overcome Bute's reluctance to take office. Bute and Newcastle then met on March 10 to concert the best method of breaking it to Pitt. Newcastle promised never to desert Bute and was much comforted by Bute's opinion that Pitt's popularity was on the wane and that the consequences of his quitting office would not be disastrous, since he had no intention of joining the Opposition.

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Mutually strengthened by these assurances, Newcastle went off to write a full account to Hardwicke, Bute to break the news to Pitt. Since it was the King's wish, replied Pitt with calm politeness, and since his lordship had overcome his own scruples, he was perfectly satisfied. All he required for himself was complete control over appointments in his own department, free access to the King, and an assurance of the King's intention to continue the war until a good peace could be obtained. He also suggested that Bute, as an earnest of good faith, should cease countenancing men like Glover and Talbot, who inveighed against Pitt as a 'German minister' and were ready to make peace at any price. A few days later the first great change in Pitt's Ministry was announced—Bute to be Secretary of State instead of Holderness,[1] Barrington[2] Chancellor of the Exchequer instead of Legge, and Charles Townshend, the spoilt darling of politics, who would have rivalled Pitt had he possessed any convictions, to be Secretary at War.[3] Newcastle was for the moment delighted at what seemed to him a triumph over Pitt and found especial satisfaction in Bute's reticence about the part he himself had played in the intrigue. But this satisfaction was short-lived: three weeks later Pitt had discovered his treachery; and before many months had passed he himself had repented of it.

I own [he wrote to Devonshire in July 1762] I did in concert with your Grace and my friends prefer my lord Bute to him, and was an insignificant instrument to bring my lord Bute into the Secretary's office; I did not think I should have been so soon and so well rewarded for it.[4]

[1] Holderness received a pension of £4,000 a year as a *douceur*; but this was not announced in the *Gazette*.

[2] Barrington was a useful drudge, who between 1746 and 1778 served continuously in various offices. This would hardly have been possible had he not been willing to sink his opinions. When he was made Chancellor, he himself said: 'Fortune may at last make me Pope. I think I am equally fit to be at the head of the Church as of the Exchequer . . . but no man knows what is good for him.'

[3] See *Add. MSS.* 32918–32921 *passim* for these plottings and negotiations. In 1804 George III gave much the same account of them, though he then denied that he had been anxious to have Bute as his minister. (Rose, *Diaries*, ii, 189.)

[4] *Add. MSS.* 32941, f. 36.

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At first Pitt seemed hardly shaken by the inclusion in the Ministry of the man who had become his enemy. He had little personal feeling in the matter and was prepared to work with Bute or anyone else who would agree to his policy. He was popular at home, and on the Continent regarded as the soul of the war. What Frederic the Great thought of his value as a minister was made known to the King and Bute in a curious way. On George II's death Frederic had written a letter of condolence to Pitt, in which he gave his views on peace and said of Pitt himself:

> I place my confidence in you, Sir, in your character of a true Roman, of which you have given such striking proof during your ministry. I rely on you without any fear of deception, and feel convinced you will continue to labour for the common cause with no less zeal than you showed during the late reign.

Pitt felt it his duty to show the letter to the King, because of the public matters referred to therein, but hesitated, says Newcastle, lest he should be charged with vanity for making known the passage about himself, and actually blushed at such praise from the Protestant hero.[1] But a man of whom such opinions were held could not be discarded with indecent haste; indeed, up to a certain point his popularity served the King. For some months longer Bute ostentatiously agreed with him in Council, waiting for some plausible excuse and for Dodington's coffee-house spies and runners to have done their work before striking the decisive blow for the King's liberation from thraldom.

[1] Yorke, *Hardwicke*, iii, 315.

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CHAPTER XVII

PITT'S PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

Securius bellum pace dubia.

On March 31, 1761, a few days after Bute's appointment as Secretary of State, Prince Galitzin, the Russian ambassador in London, presented offers of negotiation on behalf of France and her allies. Pitt had never underrated the difficulty of concluding a satisfactory peace. Two years before, at the height of his triumph, he wrote to Hardwicke:

> Peace will be as hard to make as war. The materials in His Majesty's hands are certainly very many and great, and it is to be hoped that in working them up in the great edifice of a solid and general Pacification of Europe there may be no confusion of language, but that the workmen may understand one another.[1]

November 13, 1759. In the same year he told the House of Commons, in a burst of confidence, 'Anybody could advise me in war; but who could draw such a peace as would please everybody? I would snatch at the first moment of peace, though I wish I could leave off at the war.'

Pitt was scarcely fashioned for the part of a successful negotiator: here his very merits as a war minister became defects. But, though conscious of his own unbending nature, he was convinced that he alone saw clearly what England had been fighting for and on what terms the risk of future war could be avoided, and he had no intention of allowing peace to be concluded without his active co-operation. In

[1] *Add. MSS.* 35423, f. 193.

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1759 he had seized the occasion of a trivial incident to make this plain to his colleagues. In October of that year Hardwicke's son, Joseph Yorke, envoy at The Hague, received some suggestions for peace from the Princess of Anhalt-Zerbst, a person of no account except as the mother of Catherine the Great. Yorke treated the matter as a joke, answered the lady flippantly and sent home the letters for his father and Newcastle to see. They in turn showed them to the Prussian envoy and Holderness under seal of secrecy; Pitt was the last to hear of them, through a calculated indiscretion of Holderness. He took up the matter with tremendous earnestness.

I understand [he wrote to Newcastle] your Grace has received some days since a letter from Mr. Yorke relating to certain dapplings for peace on the part of some lady. . . . As it is so indispensably the right of a Secretary of State to be informed, instantly, of every transaction of this nature, and as the King's service and the public good must be essentially and incurably prejudiced by such suppressions in a moment so critical that one false step may prove fatal, I find myself necessitated to mention this matter to your Grace. I know not how far your Grace may have had the King's orders for this clandestine proceeding . . . but I must find myself thereby deprived of the means of doing His Majesty any service. . . .

The Duke only added fuel to the flame of Pitt's wrath by answering that these 'cursed female letters' were a matter 'purely for amusement.'

Mr. Yorke's letter [retorted Pitt], I think, with all who have read it, very pretty, but I cannot help differing from your Grace in not thinking that any letter, however prettily turned and addressed to the amiable sex, ought to be deemed matter of amusement, when it relates to the great subject of peace. . . . I trust it is not presumption to lay myself at His Majesty's feet and most humbly request his gracious permission to retire whenever his Majesty thinks it for his service to treat of a peace in the vehicle of letters of amusement, and to order his servants to conceal, under so thin a covering, the first dawnings of information relative to so high and delicate an object.[1]

[1] Torrens, ii, 527–8; *Chatham Corr.* i, 445.

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When Newcastle protested, no doubt with perfect truth, that he never intended to enter into a private negotiation for peace, Pitt, 'not very politely' complains Newcastle, retorted 'I believe it, for if you did, you would not be able to walk the streets without a guard.'[1] The sledge-hammer was used with unnecessary violence for the particular offence; but the lesson was effective. The King promised that he would not think of making peace without Pitt's co-operation: Yorke, Hardwicke and Newcastle, though they never forgave Holderness, were soon on good terms with Pitt and never again ventured to talk of peace without his cognizance.

I.—Early Attempts at Peace

More serious 'dapplings for peace' had already been made before Choiseul's overture of March 1761. In 1758 Bernis, unmanned by England's first victories, had asked Spain, Denmark and Saxony to propose mediating between the two crowns. Legge and Newcastle thought that with Louisburg to set against Minorca the opportunity should be embraced; but Pitt would not give up Louisburg a second time[2] or bargain with only that fortress and Senegal to his credit. He contemptuously waived aside Denmark's timid advances; and Choiseul himself disavowed them when he succeeded Bernis.[3] At the end of 1759, however, Minden and Quebec had lowered Choiseul's tone. Writing to his ally Kaunitz in October, he drew a desponding picture of France's condition. Defeated in Germany, Africa and the West Indies, she was now faced with the prospect of losing the whole of Canada and India; and, unable to raise more money by taxation or by credit, she had barely the means to pay the current

[1] *Add. MSS.* 32897, f. 512.

[2] In February 1760 all danger of this was removed by the Cabinet's decision to demolish the fortifications of Louisburg, which was thus rendered valueless to France. (See Kimball, ii, 250.)

[3] See vol. i, pp. 381 and 387–8.

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expenses of the army. In these circumstances, said Choiseul, the King, though determined not to desert the Empress in Germany, had no alternative but to make a separate peace with England.[1] He turned to his old friend Bernstorff, the Danish minister, and invited him to approach England with another offer of mediation, giving him at the same time a sketch of the terms which would be acceptable to France. Since these amounted to little more than a return to the conditions before the war, Choiseul showed some humour in his comment on them: 'I have placed myself in Mr. Pitt's shoes and thought that he would be prepared to entertain such a reasonable offer.'[2] In spite of England's victories Choiseul may have thought himself in a stronger position for negotiating in 1759 than in 1758, owing to the death in August of Ferdinand of Spain, who was succeeded by Don Carlos of Naples. His sympathy with his French cousin appeared even before he landed in his new kingdom: he not only pressed an offer of mediation upon England, but, upon news of the capture of Quebec, formally declared that 'he could not see with indifference the disturbance of equilibre in America established by the treaty of Utrecht.'[3]

Pitt politely rejected the offers of mediation made by Denmark and Spain,[4] but only because those Powers were obviously biased in favour of France, for he was quite ready to make peace after Quebec. He was not convinced that another campaign would improve England's position, especially in Germany, where Frederic had long been asking for peace, and Ferdinand was clamouring for reinforcements that could ill be spared.[5] At this stage he would have been

[1] Bourguet, *Politique Etrangère . . . de Choiseul*, p. 31.

[2] *Correspondance . . . Bernstorff et Choiseul*, pp. 65 and 117.

[3] Record Office, *Sardinia and Savoy*, 67 (Pitt to Mackenzie, December 25, 1759).

[4] He told the Spanish ambassador that 'such had been the blessing of God on His Majesty's arms' that it was rather for France to seek mediation than England. (Record Office, *Sardinia and Savoy*, Pitt to Mackenzie, September 12, 1759.)

[5] For correspondence of Pitt with Ferdinand on Prussia's parlous condition and need for peace see *Chatham Corr.* i, 460, and *Chatham MSS.* 90 (Ferdinand to Pitt, January 11, 1760).

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content with lower terms than he afterwards demanded: he wished to retain Senegal and Goree in Africa, and to arrange boundaries in America that should include the lakes and the Bay of Fundy, so as to secure the colonies from attack; but on Guadeloupe and Minorca he professed indifference, and was then prepared to treat even on the possession of Louisburg, Quebec and Montreal.[1] Pitt's moderation in his English demands after all the victories of this year was chiefly due to his determination to compensate the allied states of Prussia, Brunswick, Hesse and Hanover for their losses. On this he was always explicit both in public and in private. Shortly after his statement to Newcastle of the terms he would accept for England, he told Lady Yarmouth that, had he not to consider the interests of Prussia, he could make a glorious peace.[2] He told the King that although he would not consent to further acquisitions for Hanover he would see that the electorate suffered no loss at the end of the war.[3] Confirming his declaration of 1758 that even the interests of the American colonists must come second to treaty obligations,[4] a year later
December 17, 1759. he told the House of Commons that he would rather cut off his hand than sign a peace not in harmony with the engagements subsisting between England and Prussia.

On the other hand Pitt had readily fallen in with Frederic's suggestion of June 1759 that England and Prussia should

[1] These suggestions were thrown out hastily in conversation with Newcastle in the last week of October 1759, and must not be taken as Pitt's considered plan. (*Add. MSS.* 32897, f. 512.) A memorial of proposals for peace, dated October 30, 1759, and to be found on f. 484 of the same volume, has been erroneously attributed by M. Waddington (iii, 540) to Pitt. It is true it is signed with the initials W. P., but is neither in Pitt's handwriting nor in that of any of his clerks. Newcastle makes no allusion to it, as he certainly would have, had it been by Pitt. Nor can it, as M. Waddington says, be the paper of Pitt's alluded to by Lord Kinnoul in a letter of October 30 (f. 500), since it has a postscript dated December 4. Moreover, it differs in certain important respects (e.g. the memorialist is most anxious to retain Guadeloupe) from Pitt's views —reported on the following day by Newcastle—and it is evidently not written by any minister, least of all by Pitt, since the time for making peace is left with confidence entirely to His Majesty's judgment 'and to the superior knowledge and wisdom of his councils.' It bears internal evidence of having been written by some merchant well acquainted with North America and the West Indian Islands, and is a memorandum of great value on the needs of England at the peace.

[2] *Stowe MSS.* 263. [3] *Add. MSS.* 32897, f. 512. [4] See vol. i, p. 382.

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make a joint proposal for a congress of peace. After several meetings between the Cabinet and the Prussian envoys [1] the terms of this declaration were settled, and it was presented to France and her allies on November 25, 1759. Pitt also advised Frederic to send a secret envoy to Paris, undertaking to sound the French Ministry by a separate negotiation on behalf of England; to which Frederic answered, 'I am willing to leave my fate in the hands of England and am rejoiced to see it in the good keeping of Mr. Pitt.' [2] At such a moment, reported the Prussian envoys, when the English taste for victory had been whetted but was still unsatisfied, and the hatred of France was implacable, it required no ordinary courage in Pitt to raise his voice in favour of peace.

Assured now that Yorke had learned his lesson from the 'cursed female letters,' Pitt instructed him to make overtures to d'Affry, the French minister at The Hague.[3] The conversations between Yorke and d'Affry, which were fitfully continued till May 1760, seemed at first so promising that the dispatch of a special envoy from Choiseul to Pitt was agreed to in principle; and the Lord Keeper Henley thought it a favourable opportunity to press his claims for a peerage on the ground that 'an unwilling Keeper, particularly when a treaty of peace was to be made, was a bad thing for a ministry.' [4] But the negotiation broke down owing to Pitt's loyalty to Prussia. He knew that, were England once at peace with France, no subsidy could be obtained from the House of Commons for Frederic; in that case a peace, in which Frederic was not included, would do him more harm than good.[5] When, therefore, Choiseul, at the instance of his allies, specifically excluded Prussia from a separate treaty

[1] See Schæfer, II[1], 562 *sqq.*, and *Add. MSS.* 32893 and 32897, f. 458, for Cabinets on this matter of July 20, September 26, October 29, 1759.

[2] *Pol. Corr.* xix, 203; see also *ibid.* xviii, 644 *sqq.*

[3] Pitt rejected a proposal by d'Aiguillon to negotiate with Lord Howe, whom he met to discuss an exchange of prisoners after Quiberon. With a singular want of humour d'Aiguillon proposed to use for this negotiation the full powers given him by Choiseul to treat for peace on Scottish soil, had he been successful in the projected invasion. (See vol. i, p. 392.)

[4] *Stowe MSS.* 263.

[5] Schæfer, II[1], 579 (Knyphausen to Frederic, April 11, 1760).

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with England,[1] Pitt added in his own hand to Holderness's dispatch that 'England would never hear of *pourparlers* for peace which did not comprehend his Majesty as Elector and his ally *eo nomine* the King of Prussia.'[2] By May, when the negotiations were finally broken off, Pitt was glad for England's sake also. He was furious at a saying reported of Choiseul that 'neither side would come out of the war with any considerable gains,' since it betrayed so complete a misunderstanding of England's just demands; and when Newcastle feared that it would be impossible to carry on the war for another year he 'flew into a violent passion [and said] . . . that that was the way to make peace impracticable and encourage our enemy.'[3]

II.—The Negotiations of 1761

The proposals which Prince Galitzin presented nearly a year later on Choiseul's behalf were for a congress of all the belligerents at Augsburg and for a separate negotiation between England and France. England and Prussia agreed to the congress on April 3;[4] on April 7 the Cabinet authorised Pitt to accept Choiseul's other offer. When these proposals were made France had fought it almost to the stumps. Louis XV, writing to the King of Sweden in February, had exposed the nakedness of his country to Pitt, who intercepted the letter.[5] In it, he said, France was too impoverished to go on pouring men and treasure into Germany and had no hope of better

[1] See *Chatham Corr.* ii, 29. The answer from St. Petersburg and Vienna, refusing to allow Prussia to be included in a separate negotiation between England and France, came on April 3, 1760.

[2] Torrens, ii, 542.

[3] *Add. MSS.* 32904, f. 278. A lively account of the Yorke-d'Affry negotiations is in Bourguet, *La Politique du Duc de Choiseul.*

[4] The congress never met. Pitt told Bussy that he hoped the Emperor would not be invited to it 'as he would appear in all his majesty with the imperial eagle carrying the thunderbolt of the Empire.'

[5] *Chatham MSS.* 88.

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success in another campaign: peace, then, was a necessity for her. Under such conditions Choiseul had little choice about terms. His best game—one in which he was fitted to excel—was to wait on the turn of events and, by playing off different interests against each other, to save all he could from the wreck of his country's fortunes. He hoped to make something of French conquests in Germany, though they were nominally won for the Empress, and, in case England proved obdurate, he kept in reserve a promising negotiation with Spain.

Pitt, on the other hand, was in a better position for bargaining on England's behalf than in the spring of 1760. In addition to Senegal, Goree and Guadeloupe, the whole of Canada had been ceded by the capitulation of September 1760, the complete disappearance of the French from India was assured, and the impotence of the French navy left little doubt of the success of Pitt's designs against Dominica, St. Lucia and Martinique, or of the Belleisle expedition, for which final instructions were issued on March 25, 1761. These advantages were partly counterbalanced by more unfavourable conditions in Germany. Frederic, in spite of occasional victories and indomitable courage, was becoming weaker with every campaign; Ferdinand had been driven out of Hesse, part of Hanover and Wesel. Pitt knew that he would be able to include Hanover and Hesse in his treaty with France; but with Frederic it was different. Nevertheless he was determined not to break his engagements with Frederic, and with that view had for some months been negotiating a new understanding with him, which was concluded in March 1761 and had an important bearing on the subsequent negotiations with France. Frederic had come to recognise that the condition of including Prussia in the treaty between France and England, on which the negotiation of 1760 had broken down, was impossible. He therefore agreed that Pitt should make a separate peace with France, on condition France consented to evacuate Wesel and all his other possessions on the Rhine and to confine her assistance to the Empress to 24,000 men, and that he himself received an increased subsidy

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from England to enable him to hire her disbanded Hessians and Hanoverians.[1]

To gain these concessions for Frederic, Pitt saw that England would have to sacrifice some of her conquests. In deciding which these should be he was not wanting for advice from pamphleteers of all shades of opinion. 'Some,' said Pitt in the House of Commons, 'are for keeping Canada, some Guadeloupe; who will tell me which I shall be hanged for not keeping?' In the main this discussion on the comparative value of Canada and the continental colonies and of the West India islands turned on commercial considerations. The West Indies, it was said, supplied England with more of the goods she needed: the American continent already, it was answered, provided a better market for English manufactures, and, as the population increased and had no longer cause for apprehension from Canada, this market was likely to improve.[2] One foreseeing writer[3] urged that it would be better to retain the West Indian conquests than North America, 'which cannot be prevented from rising to independency and Empire'; and he was reinforced by many others who extolled the commercial value of Guadeloupe, St. Lucia and Dominica.[4] But the weight of authority was in favour of retaining Canada. Lord Bath inspired 'A Letter to Two Great Men on the Prospect of a Peace,'[5] in which, after insisting on the need of peace on the ground that 'we have had bloodshed enough,' the writer argued that Senegal, Goree and Guadeloupe should all, if

[1] Schæfer, II[2], 731 *sqq.*; *Pol. Corr.* xx, *passim*; and Waddington, iv, 405 *sqq.*

[2] In Beer, *British Colonial Policy*, ch. viii, will be found an excellent summary of the arguments used on both sides in this discussion.

[3] J. Massie, *General Propositions relating to Colonies* (April 1761).

[4] See *Chatham MSS.* 98, and 'A Letter from a Gentleman in Guadeloupe to his friend in London' in Almon, vol. iii. The last writer states that Guadeloupe can produce 100,000 hogsheads of sugar, while Jamaica at the most yielded only 50,000. He also advances the arguments that Canada is comparatively useless for trade, that the presence of the French in North America is the best check on any desire to revolt in our colonies. William Burke was the author of another pamphlet in favour of retaining Guadeloupe.

[5] London, 1760. It was actually written by Dr. Douglas, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury. The tone of this pamphlet is very friendly to Pitt. In opposition to Mauduit it points out that the German war was necessary, for, if France had been allowed to seize Hanover, we could not have claimed Canada at the peace.

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necessary, be sacrificed to the paramount need of giving security to the continental colonies by removing the French from Canada. Benjamin Franklin, the young and almost unknown [1] agent for Pennsylvania, took the same line in 'The Interest of Great Britain Considered,' in which he insisted on the value to England of the American market and asserted that the colonists were never likely to claim independence. On the same side, too, was Pitt's friend Beckford, representing the powerful interests of the sugar-planters, who were afraid that the acquisition of the French sugar islands might infringe upon their monopoly. Pitt's own view, already formed in December 1760, was that a considerable portion of the North American conquests must be retained. He may to some extent have been influenced by Beckford's argument; [2] he was certainly moved by wider considerations of the nation's future needs. Thus when, at a later stage of the negotiations, Choiseul offered him Guiana for Newfoundland, Pitt pointed out that the English, being a northern people, required a northern climate in which to develop.[3] The importance of North America as a market also appealed to him strongly. 'I state to you the importance of America,' he said in one of his later speeches; 'it is a double market, the market of consumption and the market of supply'; and in another he called America 'the fountain of our wealth, the nerve of our strength, the nursery and basis of our naval power.' This care for our naval power made him attach even greater importance to the Canadian fisheries than to Canada itself. While determined to take enough of Canada to give secure boundaries to the American colonists, he was indifferent whether the rest of Canada or Guadeloupe and Goree were given up so long as the fisheries remained British.[4]

This question of the fisheries proved to be the most important point of difference between Pitt and Choiseul. By

[1] Franklin found Pitt inaccessible at this time and did business with his secretaries only. Pitt, however, had heard of him and spoke of him as a man of a respectable character. (*Franklin's Works* (Bigelow), v, 443.)

[2] He was attacked for this in *A Letter to the Rt. Hon. Author of a Letter to a Citizen* (1761).

[3] Waddington, iv, 452.

[4] Yorke, *Hardwicke*, iii, 316.

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the Treaty of Utrecht the French right of fishing off Newfoundland and drying their fish on the shore had been confirmed: they had also by virtue of sovereignty enjoyed all the deep-sea fishing in the estuary of the St. Lawrence. The annual value of these fisheries to France was calculated at about half a million sterling, roughly equal in value to all the rest of the produce of Canada; but their value could not be measured in money alone. Nearly 3,000 ships and boats and 15,000 men were engaged in an industry which made the best of schools for the French navy. The English fisheries returned considerably less profit, and employed only about half the number of men.[1] Montcalm attached so much importance to the French fisheries that when he had been hardly a year in Canada he advised the French government, even if they lost Canada, on no account to part with their fishing rights; and Choiseul was entirely of the same opinion. On his side Pitt was equally resolved to leave the French with no fisheries in America. Bedford told him that to insist on such a demand 'must put a final blow to their being any longer a naval power.'[2] But Pitt did not shrink from this. He wanted a lasting peace, and for a lasting peace he thought it necessary to deal France such a blow that she would never recover the power of interfering with English trade and colonization. 'Some time before,' he said, 'I should have been content to bring that country on her knees, now I shall not rest till I have laid her on her back.'[3] Though 'calm, amiable and deliberative' on other conditions of peace, Newcastle found him deaf to all argument on this matter. To obtain the fishery, he said, he would fight six or seven more years in America, and, if he were capable of signing a treaty without it, would be sorry he had recovered the use of his gouty right hand.[4]

[1] The figures given above are taken from the official return in the *Hardwicke Papers* quoted by Miss Hotblack in *Transactions*, Roy. Hist. Soc., 3rd series, ii, 235 *sqq*. Considerably higher figures are given for the profits of the French fisheries and the number of men employed there in a paper drawn up for Pitt's information (*Chatham MSS.* 85), and in a pamphlet 'addressed to the Rt. Hon Wm. Pitt,' entitled *Considerations on the Importance of Canada and the Bay and River of St. Lawrence*, written in October 1759.

[2] *Bedford Corr.* iii, 25. [3] Rockingham, i, 21.

[4] *Ibid.* 23, and *Add. MSS.* 32921, ff. 340, 381.

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None in the Cabinet, except Temple, shared Pitt's uncompromising views on peace. Of the others, Bute came nearest to him during the early stages of the negotiation; for, though anxious to be quit as soon as possible of the war and of Pitt too, he was afraid a bad peace might do serious harm to the King.[1] Bedford, who on his return from Ireland was invited by the King to attend Cabinet Councils, was the imperious Secretary's most formidable opponent. Envenomed by the treatment he had received from him in Ireland, he also held fundamentally different views on foreign policy. He had no belief in increasing our colonial possessions, on the ground that 'we have too much already—more than we know what to do with'; and objected to retaining Canada and Guadeloupe, because 'the neighbourhood of the French to our North American colonies was . . . the greatest security for their dependence on the mother-country, which I feel will be slighted by them when their apprehension of the French is removed.' He was no less opposed to Pitt's policy of destroying the French navy.

To drive France entirely out of any naval power is fighting against nature, and can tend to no one good to this country, but on the contrary must excite all the naval powers of Europe to enter a confederacy against us, as adopting a system, viz. that of a monopoly of all naval power, which would be at least as dangerous to the liberties of Europe as that of Louis XIV was, which drew almost all Europe upon his back.

He had the rare quality, lacking in Pitt, of being able to put himself in the adversary's place. When it is a question of retaining Belleisle, he asks if any Briton would consent to a treaty ceding the Isle of Wight: if not, he concludes, 'let us do as we would be done by, the most golden rule, as well in what relates to public as to private life, which exists, and I believe ought always to be observed, as well in

[1] Writing to Calcraft in September 1761 Fox says, 'The King wishes peace, so doubtless does Lord Bute, but he wishes a peace that shall not be at all more the King's or his than Mr. Pitt's. He will even appear and try to have it said that he was more high and less conceding to France than anybody. He therefore is joined with Pitt in a manner, but not in a way a juncture has generally been implied.' (*Chatham MSS.* 86.) Fox was a good judge of a man like Bute.

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good policy as in good conscience.'[1] Bedford was almost alone in holding such sentiments. The very people, Rigby told him, who cried out for peace said in the same breath 'that you must keep everything which you have taken from the French and have everything returned to you which you have lost by the war.'[2]

Though singular at the time, Bedford's views had some influence on the course of the negotiations: his colleagues, it is true, never adopted them entirely, but they sometimes used them as a weapon against Pitt with his extreme views in the other direction.[3] They are interesting, too, as an early indication of that current of opinion which has never been entirely beaten back by the flood of British expansion and for short periods has even prevailed against it. Bedford was wise in recognising that a proud nation like the French, though broken by defeat, would never consent to the utmost humiliation. But in his timid forebodings about the growth of the British Empire, even though right about the revolt of America, he showed himself less farseeing than Pitt; and he could not perceive that the rivalry between England and France in America was depressing to both nations and fatal to the well-being of America. Pitt saw this, and even had he been certain that the uprooting of the French power in America would help the colonies to break away from the mother-country he would still have persisted in uprooting it. In his detestation of the Bourbon power he was like some Hebrew prophet preaching against Babylon. This hatred of France was something more than hatred of a trade rival; the religious intolerance and the despotic government of the France of that day were to him the most hateful things in the world.

Neither Pitt nor Choiseul allowed the negotiations to in-

[1] *Bedford Corr.* iii, 16, 17, 26, and Corbett, ii, 173.

[2] *Bedford Corr.* iii, 42.

[3] Newcastle spoke to Rigby of 'the dread the whole Council used to be in lest Mr. Pitt should frown, and that Bedford was the single man who dared to deliver an opinion contrary to his though agreeable to every other person's present.' But this was said after Pitt's resignation. (*Bedford Corr.* iii, 56.)

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terfere with their warlike plans. On March 24, when it was already known that peace proposals were on the way from France, Pitt wrote to Amherst to hasten the attack on the West India Islands.[1] Five days later the Belleisle expedition started under Keppel and Hodgson.[2] When Hodgson came to take leave he found the Secretary of State in high good humour: 'the element was calm and serene, not a dimple on the surface but what was occasioned by a smile'; and after promising 'to support me in all stretches of power whatever and against whomsoever,' continues Hodgson, 'he kissed me and did not doubt of my success.'[3] Choiseul was equally alive to the effect of military success on the negotiations. On the death of old Marshal Belleisle in January he had taken over the duties of war minister, and was pressing forward the dispatch of reinforcements to the armies of the Main and the Rhine, hoping by a supreme effort to obtain possession of Hanover.

At an early stage of the ensuing negotiations Choiseul expressed regret that he and Pitt could not meet to conduct them in person; and four months later he declared that, had there been any prospect of a definite treaty, he would have proposed to meet his rival either at Dover or in mid-Channel to give it the finishing touches. It is a loss to the dramatic interest of history that the two statesmen never met. They had much in common: a burning zeal for their country, a haughty indifference to the opinions of smaller men, clear vision, great executive capacity, and a power of direct utterance which left little scope for misunderstanding. To these Choiseul added qualities lacking in Pitt: great personal charm, a light-heartedness which kept him serene through the bitterest personal or political disappointments, and a supple gift for intrigue which gained him temporary successes, often pleasanter to achieve than more abiding triumphs. Pitt, on the

[1] See above, p. 20.

[2] Bute and the King were as eager for the Belleisle expedition as Pitt. The former wrote to Pitt urging him to proceed on it as 'very essential' on the ground that it would hamper French operations in Westphalia. (*Chatham MSS.* 24.)

[3] Keppel, *Life of Keppel*, i, 298.

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other hand, with no more energy and capacity than Choiseul, had a power of concentration on great objects and an innate dignity wanting in the Frenchman; in the end he would have overborne Choiseul's cleverness and resourcefulness by sheer force of character. Had these two come face to face peace is more likely to have been concluded: both desired it, and by personal intercourse would have removed misunderstandings and avoided faults of manner which were largely responsible for the ultimate failure.

However that may have been, a personal meeting was not brought about. After an interchange of friendly epistles both statesmen agreed to send representatives, Pitt choosing Hans Stanley and Choiseul Bussy. Of the two Stanley was the happier choice. He knew France well, was shrewd and industrious, and worked loyally for peace; his failing was an excessive vanity which tempted him to take an exaggerated view of the effect of his own diplomacy. Bussy was no stranger to London, where he had been sent on a mission in 1737, but his chief employment had been in the French Foreign Office. Here in earlier days he had received the pay of England for revealing secrets of little importance.[1] But those days were past. Temple, indeed, advised Pitt to try the effect of a bribe on a man 'not quite so chaste as Penelope,'[2] but needless to say Pitt did not follow his advice, and no whisper was heard against Bussy's integrity during this mission. It is not clear why Choiseul chose him. He belonged to the faction of the duc d'Aiguillon, one of Choiseul's bitterest enemies, and in several instances appeared to be less anxious for peace than Choiseul himself. He was known to be afraid of Mr. Pitt: 'the poor devil trembled with fear before starting,' Choiseul said of him; and later, commenting on one of his dispatches, Choiseul told Stanley that it read as if he had jumped out of the window in alarm at Mr. Pitt's displeasure.

[1] During Lord Waldegrave's embassy to Paris in Sir Robert Walpole's time Bussy was regularly in his pay. He was then always alluded to as '101' in the foreign correspondence. During the five years preceding the war of the Austrian Succession '101' received no less than £15,500 for very little return.

[2] *Chatham MSS.* 61.

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Bussy arrived in London on May 31,[1] and after taking rooms in Albemarle Street, soon got to work with Pitt. In the first week of June the two had several interviews, from which Bussy came away immensely impressed by the Secretary of State. In his dispatches to Choiseul he gives a shrewd picture of his formidable antagonist, who seemed to him eloquent and methodical, but with a lawyer's captiousness in details, courageous to temerity, sustaining his own ideas with fire and obstinacy, and eager to subjugate everyone by the tyranny of his opinion. Simple in his manners and in his train of living and avoiding unnecessary display, he had no desire to be rich, was noted for his scrupulous probity, and seemed to have no thought but for his work. Paying court to nobody he allowed no one to pay court to him or even to see him except on business. His one ambition, thought Bussy, was to raise his nation to the highest point of glory and abase France to the lowest humiliation, and he found in that ambition the secret of the people's almost idolatrous regard for him. For this reason, though he had few friends in council, he could impose his will on colleagues, who feared to outrage the feelings of a fiery people. To these stern qualities Bussy was surprised to find that he added an exquisite courtesy. In the first interview Pitt declared himself anxious to avoid doing anything to hurt the feelings of the French Court, and begged to be informed of any over-warm expression that might escape him, so that he might correct it on the spot; and throughout their intercourse Bussy found Pitt's personal relations with him most friendly.[2]

The first discussions turned on Choiseul's original proposal that the actual possessions of each country in Europe on May 1, in the West Indies on July 1, and in Asia on September 1,

[1] Stanley had been much disturbed because Bussy was late in arriving at Calais. The two envoys should both have crossed the Channel on May 25, but Stanley was two days before Bussy. Pitt passed off the delay, which appears to have been unavoidable, as a bagatelle.

[2] See *Aff. Etr. Angl. Pol.* 443, f. 164, and 444, f. 216. These two volumes contain Bussy's dispatches to Choiseul during his mission. The account of the negotiations in Waddington, vol. iv, is also valuable. Most of Pitt's and Stanley's dispatches are printed in Thackeray's *Life*.

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or at such other epochs as might be mutually agreed upon, should be taken as the basis of negotiation. Pitt had hitherto delayed answering about these epochs for two reasons: he wished to have Belleisle and possibly another West Indian island in his possession before fixing the dates; he was also uncertain whether in treating with England Choiseul meant to set off French conquests in Germany against English conquests elsewhere. In that case, Pitt told the Cabinet on May 13, it would be for them to decide whether they would agree to sacrificing some English conquests for the allies or continue fighting until France was compelled to give up her German conquests. He himself was indifferent, he said, which course was chosen, but he insisted on having the opinion of his colleagues: in no case, he added, should the allies be allowed to suffer. The Cabinet resolved that 'the losses of our allies in Germany should be considered at the peace and at the final settlement of our conquests'; when, therefore, Bussy told him France meant to claim them as a set-off, Pitt made no objection.[1]

Bussy had been nearly a fortnight in London before news came of the capture of Belleisle. The landing on the island had not been effected until the end of April. Then Hodgson wrote for two battalions to reinforce him. Pitt had two battalions 'that lay in such manner as to be embarked without loss of time' and sent them at once, and two more shortly afterwards with artillery and stores, telling Hodgson to complete his important enterprise gloriously and without delay. On June 8 the fortress capitulated after a brave resistance, and on June 12 Pitt heard of the victory.[2] On the 14th he sent for Bussy and advised him to let his landlord illuminate his house in Albemarle Street, but sent special

[1] Pitt himself probably would have preferred to go on fighting to avoid sacrificing any of our conquests for the allies: he told Newcastle that 'he would make war for Hanover as long as you pleased, but never make peace for Hanover.' Hardwicke and Newcastle were much aggrieved at Pitt's arrogant demand for the views of his colleagues without vouchsafing formally to give his own. Newcastle gives accounts of the Cabinet of May 13 in letters to Hardwicke of May 14 and Devonshire of May 20, 1761. (*Add. MSS.* 32923.)

[2] For Belleisle dispatches see *Add. MSS.* 36995, ff. 10, *sqq.*

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guards to him and repressed unseemly exhibitions of popular triumph out of deference to Bussy's feelings.[1] On the 16th he called a Cabinet to decide upon the epochs and sent for Bussy to tell him that instead of Choiseul's dates he proposed July 1, September 1, and November 1, and insisted that the treaty should be signed by August 1, when preparations for another campaign would normally have to be considered. After this interview Bussy warned Choiseul to be precise with a minister like Pitt 'who is sharp on every word or comma displaced.'[2]

Meanwhile Stanley had been enjoying himself in French society, where he was received with every distinction and treated by Choiseul and his agreeable sister, the Duchesse de Grammont, as if he were their greatest friend. On June 17 Choiseul came to business. Taking Stanley alone into his room and assuming an air of extreme agitation, he confided to him a 'little leaf' containing his ideas of peace. Stanley was made to promise that only Pitt and one or two of his principal colleagues should be allowed to see this document, and that Bussy should on no account hear of it. The terms proposed were:

1. France should return Minorca in exchange for Guadeloupe, Marie Galante and Goree.

2. France should give up Canada but retain Ile Royale and the Newfoundland fisheries; and the southern and western limits of Canada should be fixed at Niagara.

3. France should restore all conquests made in Germany at the expense of England's allies.

In conversation with Stanley he went even further on the last point and agreed specifically that France should evacuate 'Wesel and the King of Prussia's territories which he considered as engaged in the British war.'

Choiseul's elaborate airs of secrecy and agitation were merely put on to persuade Stanley and Pitt that he was ready to make greater concessions than anyone else in France and that they had better accept his terms without prolonged

[1] Both Bussy and Choiseul pretended to be supremely indifferent about this victory. They probably discounted the return of Belleisle at peace.

[2] *Aff. Etr. Angl. Cor. Pol., loc. cit.*

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discussion. Two days later Choiseul himself informed Bussy of all he had said to Stanley. This may have been a legitimate use of diplomatic finesse, but his disingenuous promise to evacuate the German conquests cannot be excused on this ground. Only three weeks previously he had assured the imperial ambassador that Wesel and the Prussian territories on the Rhine, which were then being administered in the Empress's name, would never be the subject of negotiation by France. It is not clear whether Choiseul intended to deceive Pitt or Kaunitz at the time, but he was prepared to deny whichever promise afterwards proved inconvenient.[1]

Pitt was not taken in by Choiseul's airs of secrecy, and told Stanley that the 'little leaf . . . was loose and void of precision as to the objects it does mention and defective from its total silence as to matters of the highest importance'; but he was pleased at the accommodating spirit it revealed. He summoned Cabinet Councils for June 24 and 26 to draw up a counter-project.[2] All the ministers agreed with Pitt that it would be impossible to give up Ile Royale and Cap Breton or limit Canada, as Choiseul proposed, but were willing that England should sacrifice some of her conquests to redeem the French conquests in Germany. The struggle came on Choiseul's demand that France should retain the Newfoundland fisheries. Pitt was for refusing: he would spend sixteen millions, he said, and fight many campaigns to wrest the right from France. Granville, Halifax, Newcastle and Hardwicke all took the other side, and Bedford said that France would never agree to Pitt's 'unjustifiable demands' and that Choiseul had proposed 'the most reasonable peace ever offered to this country for some years past.'[3] Temple alone supported Pitt; Bute weakly suggested that a trial should be made to obtain the fisheries, but that the point should not be made a *sine qua non*. Pitt characteristically objected more to this half-hearted proposal than to Bedford's flat negative: he was for 'one open and

[1] See Waddington, iv, 511, 533.

[2] *Add. MSS.* 32924, f. 311. See also *Grenville Papers*, i, 372; *Bedford Corr.* iii, 19.

[3] *Chatham MSS.* 86 (Lady Betty Waldegrave to Calcraft, June 28, 1761).

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clear way of talking on the subject' and spoke of Bute's 'trial' as 'puerile and illusory.' Bute muttered about Pitt's insolence, but his friends were too awestruck to defend him openly. Nevertheless Pitt was forced to yield something of his extreme demand: if France would make some great and important concession, such as the complete demolition of the Dunkirk fortifications, he agreed to consider her retaining the Newfoundland fishing rights;[1] but the St. Lawrence fishery she was to give up entirely. In his dispatch to Stanley, written immediately after the Cabinet of June 26, Pitt also agreed to give up Guadeloupe, Marie Galante and Belleisle in exchange for Minorca and Bencoolen[2] and the evacuation by France of Wesel and the other German conquests: Senegal and Goree and some of the neutral West India islands were to be kept by England: the East Indies—that 'immense object, transcending in profit all other British conquests'—was to be the subject of further consideration.

Choiseul was in no hurry to answer this proposal, for a reason he made known to Bussy: 'it will be August before they can answer my memorial: to their answer I shall have to reply in my turn, and I shall do so in such a way as to provoke another answer from England. This will bring us to September, when it is too late for attempts on our coast.'[3] He also had his other iron in the fire. While Stanley was flattering himself that he had supplanted the Spanish ambassador, Grimaldi, in Choiseul's favc r, those two ministers were quietly working away at the secret treaty of alliance between France and Spain. In January, two months before his offer to negotiate with Pitt, Choiseul had made definite proposals to Spain for treaties of defence, commerce, and union: on June 20, only three days after he had given his 'little leaf' to Stanley, he was formally authorized to make 'the most extensive

[1] Bussy, talking to Pitt on July 7, put to him the dilemma that if he expected France to give up her fishing rights confirmed at Utrecht he could hardly ask her at the same time to comply with the Utrecht provision about demolishing Dunkirk. (*Aff. Etr. Angl. Cor. Pol.* 443, f. 334.)

[2] Bencoolen was a settlement of the East India Company in Sumatra, which had been captured by the French.

[3] W. L. Grant, *La Mission de M. de Bussy*, p. 18.

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and the strongest possible engagements' with Spain.[1] He would have preferred peace with England to a continuation of the war even with Spain as an ally, but if England's terms were too onerous he could now safely reject them. Wesel and the other Prussian dominions he really cared nothing about and was prepared at any time to play fast and loose with the Empress: but on the fishery he was as firm as Pitt. 'La pêche est ma folie,' he told Stanley, who in turn assured Pitt that without some concession on that point peace was out of the question. Choiseul's ultimatum of July 13 was accordingly calculated merely to fill up time till Spain was ready: he asked for either Senegal or Goree, coolly proposed that England should give up all her conquests in India, repudiated his previous offer to give up Wesel, and repeated the demand for Cap Breton or Ile Royale as a refuge for French fishermen engaged in the St. Lawrence fishery. He also sent over two memorials to Bussy, one supporting a claim of the Empress that all conquests from Frederic should be retained and that neither France nor England should give any assistance to their allies in Germany, the other recapitulating the Spanish view of certain disputes that had arisen between England and Spain about captured ships, logwood-cutting in Honduras, and a claim of Spain to take part in the Newfoundland fisheries, with a declaration that France expected a satisfactory settlement of these disputes before signing a treaty with England.

The presentation of these memorials by France, at a moment when she was supposed to be anxious to conciliate England, came as a complete surprise to Pitt. The one about Germany he returned 'as totally inadmissible . . . as implying an attempt upon the honour of Great Britain, and the fidelity with which His Majesty will always fulfil his obligations to his allies.' The other Choiseul had not meant to be delivered so soon, but Bussy had direct orders from Louis XV to deliver it when the Spanish ambassador thought best. Spain being anxious to commit France irrevocably to the alliance, the Spanish ambassador insisted that Bussy should present it on July 23. Bussy showed some courage

[1] Bourguet, *Choiseul et l'Alliance Espagnole*, 220.

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in presenting this impertinent memorial to Pitt, whose feelings on receiving it might well have been foreseen. As he read it he grew more and more angry at the indignity: time enough, he told Bussy, for Spain to treat of the Newfoundland fisheries when the Tower of London was taken sword in hand; and any such interference by France in the affairs pending between England and Spain would not for a moment be tolerated.

His Majesty [he wrote on the following day] will not suffer the disputes with Spain to be blended in any manner whatever in the negotiation of peace between the two crowns; . . . that it will be considered an affront to His Majesty's dignity . . . to make further mention of such a circumstance. Moreover it is expected that France *will not* at any time *presume* a right of intermeddling in such disputes between Great Britain and Spain.

A few days later Pitt had the Spanish ambassador before him and spoke to him to the same effect; he declared publicly that he thought a continuation of the war inevitable, and told the foreign envoys he had ordered a squadron of observation to America.[1]

Pitt was not alone in thinking peace now almost impossible. The Funds went down to 80,[2] the cautious Hardwicke called Choiseul 'un grand chicaneur,' and Bute wrote to reprove Bedford for his persistent pacifism. At the same time the nation's spirit was aroused by a series of victories recalling the days of 1759. On the morning of July 20 news arrived that Pondichery, the last French factory in India, had been captured, and in the evening of that same day that Dominica had surrendered in June; on the 22nd that Prince Ferdinand had defeated two French marshals at Vellinghausen. 'All is joy,' said Pitt, and he and Lady Hester wrote a joint letter to her brother James, expressing 'renewed praise and thanksgivings to the Almighty . . . for fresh tidings of happy, glorious success.' Indeed Ferdinand's was an opportune victory. Choiseul had discounted Belleisle and victories in the East and West Indies, but had strained every

[1] *Aff. Etr. Angl. Cor. Pol.* 444, f. 100.
[2] Bussy (*ibid.*) claims to have had a hand in manipulating the funds.

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nerve to get fresh compensation in Germany. Soubise and Broglie between them had 160,000 men to Ferdinand's 93,000. But Soubise, the senior marshal, was timid and jealous of Broglie. At the two days' fight of Vellinghausen he let Broglie bear the whole brunt of the fighting when he could easily have crushed Ferdinand, with the result, said Choiseul, that the French were not only defeated but covered with ridicule.[1]

In spite of these victories Pitt did not raise his terms. He even made a small concession on Africa in his reply to Choiseul of July 25, wherein he repeated his former conditions and insisted on England's right to support Frederic. But if in substance his demands were unaltered, the language in which they were clothed had, as a result of Bussy's memorial, lost all attempt at conciliation. He wrote as a conqueror to a humiliated rival: 'Dunkirk shall be reduced to the condition in which it ought to have been after the treaty of Utrecht, and upon that condition only can his Majesty ever consent' to renew the French fishing rights off Newfoundland; 'France shall immediately restore and evacuate the conquests she has made over his Majesty's allies in Germany. . . . In a word, France shall make a general evacuation of all her conquests on the side of Hesse, Westphalia and its countries.' Such uncompromising language made it difficult for Stanley to follow his instructions and present these demands with a demeanour 'free from asperity.' While 'feeling and applauding with exultation the truly British spirit that reigns throughout your state papers,' Stanley ventured to submit whether it 'may not be expedient to soften that asperity' of language;[2] and he reported that Choiseul read

> with great impatience and with frequent interruptions . . . those passages in which you are pleased to express the settled determination of his Majesty not to relax any of the conditions and

[1] Manners, *Granby*, p. 230. See also intercepted letter from Choiseul to Broglie, telling him that such proceedings made it vain to carry on an offensive war at such expense. (*Wrest Park MSS.*, Hon. T. Robinson's Memoranda.)

[2] Stanley on another occasion writes: 'As all your papers are composed with a singular energy of style, and as every word carries a distinct idea which can in no other way be with equal force expressed, I am much embarrassed in finding terms which convey neither more nor less than your meaning.'

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particularly those in which the words *must* and *shall* are used . . . and complained with warmth of the authoritative tone and imperious superiority which they implied, as if neither time nor events could change our fortune, and as if we meant to treat France as a power in rank and dignity inferior to Great Britain.

Once Choiseul told Stanley to remind Pitt that 'though the cannon sometimes was arbiter of the fate of sovereigns, the final judgment was not passed until the last cannon shot had been fired.'[1]

Pitt's answer decided Choiseul to close with Spain. On July 30, the day after he received it, he told the Spanish ambassador that Pitt's terms were inadmissible and that the Crown of France could never submit to the dictatorial tone of his dispatches. On August 3 he told the imperial ambassador that he would answer Pitt solely for appearance' sake; a week later he sent Bussy drafts of the Family Compact and the secret convention with Spain, which were signed on August 15. By these instruments Spain agreed to declare war on England if peace was not concluded by May 1, 1762; and France engaged not to make peace with England until the Spanish grievances were remedied. Choiseul's answer to Pitt, dated August 5, merely repeated his demand for the St. Lawrence fishery and an island of refuge, and his refusal to give up Wesel or allow England to help Frederic after peace between England and France, and he told Bussy he did not care now whether Pitt accepted or rejected these terms.

On seeing this answer Pitt told Temple he was afraid there could be no more question of peace, adding that Choiseul was wrong in supposing that he desired to continue the war at all costs.[2] But though anxious for peace he wanted it on his own terms. The last dispatches from Paris were considered in five long sittings of the Cabinet,[3] at which Pitt found the peace party growing progressively in strength. On August 13 the

[1] Bourguet, *Politique Etrangère . . . de Choiseul*, p. 195.

[2] *Grenville Papers*, i, 385.

[3] On August 13, 14, 19, 20, and 24. See *Rockingham Memoirs*, i, 26 *sqq.*; *Bedford Corr.* iii, 36 *sqq.*; Harris, *Hardwicke*, iii, 248; *Chatham Corr.* ii, 136; *Add. MSS.* 35870, ff. 299, 303; Thackeray, ii, 589.

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feeling was staunch in favour of the English ultimatum; next day Pitt already detected signs of weakness on his proposed draft in answer to Bussy's memorial. In this he took up warmly Choiseul's criticism of his 'dictatorial tone little suited for negotiation' and contrasted his own frank dealing with his antagonist's tortuous evasions. The answer was 'much too long and too irritating,' said Hardwicke with some justice; but Pitt would allow no alterations. With much warmth of manner and much thumping on the table he told the Cabinet that they must either take it or leave it: it was not a document to be deliberated upon, but a decision to be adopted, and he 'would not suffer his draft to be cobbled with.' The draft was passed by a slender majority, but Bedford, Devonshire and Newcastle were so disgusted with Pitt's thumpings and his imperiousness that they dined together at Newcastle House and resolved to attend no more Cabinets while he was there.[1] The King himself expressed uneasiness at the want of unanimity in the Council, and Bute, who had hitherto been almost as uncompromising as Pitt, suddenly veered round in the last three August councils to the more conciliatory section.[2] Finally, Pitt, though still persisting in his opinion that a concession of the St. Lawrence fishery was a mistake, agreed, for the sake of preserving unanimity in the King's Council, to grant France the small island of St. Pierre at the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence as a shelter for fishermen; but on the boundaries of Canada[3] and on the evacuation of the Prussian territories he maintained his former attitude.

[1] Devonshire and Newcastle were persuaded by the King to return; Bedford, however, stayed away. *Bedford Corr.* iii, 36 *sqq.*

[2] For Bute's sudden change cp. *Bedford Corr.* iii, 39 and 41.

[3] One of Pitt's great objects in making peace was to avoid all possibility of boundary disputes and misunderstandings in the future; hence his anxiety to define clearly the boundaries of Canada. On this question one of his rough notes in the *Chatham MSS.* 6 runs as follows: 'The cession of Canada to be insisted on according to the capitulation and agreeable to the line drawn by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, ascertaining the frontier of Canada on the side of the Lakes. To put a negative on the line proposed by France for fixing the limits of Louisiana, as comprehending vast tracts of country and many nations which have been and still are to remain intermediate nations, and more particularly the Cherokees, Creeks, Chickasaws, Chactaws and other nations lying between certain provinces of Great Britain and the River Mississippi.'

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Choiseul accepted St. Pierre with the addition of Miquelon, another small island in the Gulf, instead of Ile Royale, for the fishermen, but refused to hear of giving up possession of the Prussian territories except to the Empress's troops,[1] or of abandoning the right to discuss Spain's grievances. His concession about Ile Royale was made merely because he was determined to go on with the war, and he wished to put himself right with his allies, the Empress and Don Carlos, by giving them the impression that he was breaking off negotiations solely on their account.[2] Pitt summoned a Cabinet on September 15 to discuss this answer and Stanley's report of the secret convention between France and Spain. He had already told several of his colleagues that unless Stanley were thereupon recalled he should himself resign, but found no difficulty in obtaining a unanimous vote for the recall. To Bussy personally Pitt was polite as ever, told him that he had enjoyed his intercourse with him, and, at a banquet given by the Portuguese ambassador and attended by both, drank the health of the King of France in his honour.[3] But by the end of September Bussy and Stanley had both gone home, and the six months' negotiation was at an end.

In these negotiations Pitt's directness stands out in comparison with Choiseul's chicanery. From the outset Pitt played his cards openly; although he yielded some points in the course of the discussions he never went back on an offer once made, while Frederic had no just cause to complain of his fidelity to England's engagements.[4] Choiseul,

[1] See 'Minutes of a Conference, Sept. 2, 1761,' in *Chatham MSS.* 85.

[2] In the following year, when negotiations were resumed, Choiseul admitted this with cynical frankness. Repudiating his previous offer to accept St. Pierre and Miquelon, he declared that his only reason for the concession in 1761 was because 'nous songions pour la continuation de la guerre à tourner par nos sacrifices son [Pitt's] humeur, son inflexibilité et son énivrement à notre avantage.' (Choiseul's Memoir of May 25, 1762, *Lansdowne House MSS.* vol. 9.)

[3] At this or some such banquet, Pitt told Lady Hester, 'healths went round till sage heads that never turn with kingdoms' dangers hardly kept their center.' (*Chatham MSS.* 5.)

[4] Frederic was very angry with Pitt for suggesting to him in August that Munster, then in England's possession, should be ceded to the Empress for Silesia; but when Frederic objected Pitt did not pursue the matter further. (*Add. MSS.* 32926, f. 125.)

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on the other hand, was all the time playing fast and loose with England, and by the vagueness of his first offer in the 'little leaf' made Pitt suspect that he was not to be trusted. After the first English proposal of June 26 he was merely amusing Pitt by his counter-proposals. He encouraged Bussy to intrigue against Pitt by detaching his colleagues from him and by hiring English writers to advocate French views.[1] Towards the end he talked pompously about his loyalty to his allies, but had discounted such professions by his former willingness to abandon the Empress's claims in that 'little leaf'; even to Spain he was not loyal, for on August 10 he told Bussy that if Pitt would accept his last proposals, he should be shown the secret treaty with Spain and consulted as to the best means of evading it.[2]

Pitt told the House of Commons in November that the only thing he regretted in these negotiations was that he was forced by his colleagues to give up the exclusive fishery, 'the best recruiting ground for our navy,' and that if they were resumed he would stand for it.[3] He said the same to Bussy in their last interview, and in a previous moment of expansion had likened England and France to champions fighting one another: 'both are wounded,' said he, 'but England less seriously. She should therefore continue fighting to be assured of victory.'[4] 'The truth is,' people said of Pitt, 'he has more spirit and resolution than all the others, and thinks by being stout you will have your own terms.'[5] Had Pitt not been hampered by timorous colleagues, or had he remained in power for a year longer, his stoutness might well have prevailed by force of arms, if not diplomacy; and there is no doubt that in principle he was right in insisting on a treaty void of latent disputes for the future, especially in the matter of the fisheries, on which he was overruled by the Cabinet. He told

[1] See Bourguet, *loc. cit.* 204, *Grenville Papers*, i, 363–4, and a contemporary caricature of Fox and his friends intriguing with Bussy (*A Political and Satirical History of the Years* 1756–62).

[2] Quoted by Grant, *La Mission de M. de Bussy*, p. 19.

[3] Speech of November 13, 1761.

[4] Bourguet, *loc. cit.* 231, 234.

[5] *Chatham MSS.* 86 (Calcraft to Harvey, August 2, 1761).

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Bussy that he objected to French and English rights being mixed up; and the history of these fishing rights during the next 140 years proved his foresight.

Here is the Cod and Lobster question again! [writes George Meredith more than a century later to his friend Greenwood] Do impress upon your pudding-headed English, that if they want security for peace, they must get into the habit of settling questions instead of shuffling them on to the next Party in office, or generation. They do not seem to know that the holder of vast possessions must have the mind active in forecasts.[1]

In this respect Pitt showed a mind active in forecasts. His chief fault as a negotiator, and the chief cause of his failure was his blunt and haughty language. He ingenuously confessed as much to Bussy:

I admit [he said] that I have written in strong language. But the duc de Choiseul also threatened England, though in the cleverest and politest way imaginable, that he would continue the war if our court did not satisfy Madrid. Only Frenchmen have the art of wounding with perfect courtesy: I should have tried to do so also had I been writing to you in English, but my French is not good enough to allow me to venture on elegant turns of expression.[2]

Pitt would hardly have dismissed his own arrogant ways so lightly, had he realized their effect on others. After the victories of July 1761 he showed magnanimity in not raising his terms, but robbed this magnanimity of all value by the offensive 'musts' and 'shalls' with which he conveyed his ultimatum to Choiseul. If, instead of using his 'banging' style, he had couched even harsher terms in language of courtesy, he might well have carried his point with men so susceptible to charm of manner and gracious ways as Choiseul and the courtiers of Versailles. It was indeed a true instinct in Pitt when he said, 'I wish I could leave off at the war.' But, if he failed, he did nothing by his conduct of the negotiations to tarnish

[1] *Letters*, ii, 433 (January 28, 1890). Not till 1904 was England able, by the sacrifice of other interests, to make a partial settlement of the Newfoundland fishery disputes with France.

[2] Bourguet, *Politique Etrangère . . . de Choiseul*, p. 222.

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the good name of England for loyalty and candour, too soon to be sacrificed by his successors. 'I have endeavoured,' he wrote in one of his dispatches, 'from a principle of candour, not by way of assuming an imperative tone . . . to give open answers, in order to shorten delays by obviating misunderstandings and to avoid the reproach of having acted delusively even with an enemy.'

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CHAPTER XVIII

PITT'S DOWNFALL

τὸ δὲ μισεῖσθαι καὶ λυπηροὺς εἶναι ἐν τῷ παρόντι πᾶσι μὲν ὑπῆρξε δὴ ὅσοι ἕτεροι ἑτέρων ἠξίωσαν ἄρχειν· ὅστις δὲ ἐπὶ μεγίστοις τὸ ἐπίφθονον λαμβάνει, ὀρθῶς βουλεύεται.

THUC. ii, 64 (Pericles's speech).

To be censured and maligned for a time hath been the fate of all those whose merit hath raised them above the common level; but wise and judicious is the man who, enjoying this superiority, despiseth the envy.

Pitt's translation.[1]

ONE of Pitt's reasons for breaking off the negotiations with France was his knowledge that Choiseul had reinsured himself by an offensive alliance with Spain. Of this he had sure evidence, not only from Stanley, who had seen the article of the secret convention pledging France to support the Spanish claims, but also from an intercepted correspondence between Fuentes and Grimaldi, the Spanish ambassadors in London and Paris. Two letters from Grimaldi, of August 31 and September 13,[2] could leave no doubt in Pitt's mind that

[1] See vol. i, p. 214.

[2] *Chatham Corr.* ii, 139, 141. A good deal of unnecessary mystery has been made about Pitt's knowledge of the Franco-Spanish treaties. In the *Quarterly Review*, No. 190, it is suggested that Dutens, author of *Mémoires d'un Voyageur qui se repose* (see vol. i, p. 207), who was secretary of the English legation at Turin, obtained copies from Tanucci at Naples and sent them to Pitt. But Dutens in his *Mémoires* refers to information sent in 1760, not 1761. Whether Pitt actually saw copies of the treaties, one of which sooner or later came into Newcastle's hands, is a question of slight importance. He knew enough for his purpose from the intercepted correspondence of Grimaldi and Fuentes to which he alluded at Cabinet meetings. (See Dr. von Ruville's discussion of the point, *Life of Chatham*, ii, 405 *sqq.*)

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this offensive treaty had already been signed and that Spain was only waiting for the arrival of her treasure fleet at Cadiz to declare herself. Having broken off with France Pitt determined to act on this intelligence and strike at Spain instantly.

Since the beginning of the war there had been ample material for a quarrel between England and Spain in the three questions referred to in Bussy's memoir of July 23.[1] In September, 1757, d'Abreu, the Spanish minister, had presented ten memorials, enumerating fifty cases of outrage on Spanish shipping by English privateers, and thenceforward he and his successor Fuentes were kept busy drawing up similar complaints, in spite of Pitt's efforts to check the outrages.[2] The question of logwood-cutting[3] had long been at issue between the two nations. Under the Treaty of Utrecht the English 'Baymen,' as they were called, had certain rights of logwood-cutting in the Bay of Honduras, but had gradually encroached by settlements in Yucatan and Campeachy Bay in violation of Spanish territory. Pitt had already agreed, 'out of pure friendliness,' to turn the Baymen out of their illicit settlements if Spain would define their rights of logwood-cutting, but Spain had refused to define the rights until the Baymen had been turned out, and left the dispute to drag on. Spain had no stronger justification for her third claim,—advanced for the first time in 1758—to fish for cod off Newfoundland, than the argument that cod was a necessity for the Spaniards on fast days. 'Would the King of Spain,' retorted Pitt, 'consider a scarcity of gold and silver in England as any foundation for his Majesty to give passports to his subjects to fetch it for themselves from Mexico or Peru?' and in his instruction to Bristol, who succeeded Keene at Madrid in 1758, he had laid it down that England would never permit 'an interest so essential as the Newfoundland fishery, one great nursery of our seamen, and a

[1] See above, p. 94.

[2] See vol. i, pp. 400–2.

[3] Logwood was an article essential for dyeing purposes. The value of the trade was considerable. It is stated in a paper in *Chatham MSS.* 98 to have been worth about £60,000 per annum in 1717; since then it had probably increased.

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principal basis of the maritime power of Great Britain, to be in any degree pared off and divided.'

While Ferdinand reigned, these disputes, though troublesome, had never broken the good understanding between the two countries, thanks to the equal determination of Pitt and Wall to keep the peace. But Don Carlos, who acceded in August 1759, did not need Choiseul's insinuations [1] to cast in his lot heartily with France. The only reason he did not declare himself sooner was the need of time to make good Ferdinand's neglect of the army and navy. Pitt was well aware of Spain's unreadiness,[2] and was thus the more inclined to accept as true for the present Wall's assurances of his master's pacific intentions—given to Bristol in May 1761 'with the most friendly openness.' Hence Bussy's memorial of July on the Spanish claims came as a surprise to him; but he was as ready to deal faithfully with Spain as with France. In a stormy interview with Fuentes he comported himself 'like a Lucifer,' complained Wall; [3] and he ordered Bristol to remonstrate with energy and firmness on 'the unexampled irregularity of such a proceeding on the part of Spain not only still in amity with Great Britain . . . but whose intercourse has hitherto professed itself to be friendly'; to recapitulate the English arguments about the Spanish grievances, including their 'stale and inadmissible pretensions . . . to fish at Newfoundland'; and to require 'an explicit and categorical *éclaircissement* with regard to the destination of her fleets.'

Until this final incident Pitt cannot be accused of undue provocation to Spain. He had not only attempted to gain her by the offer of Gibraltar in 1757, but, except on the Newfoundland question, had always been willing to listen to argument and even to go some way to meet her. To Don Carlos himself he had shown especial attention and, when the King left Naples for Spain, facilitated arrangments whereby one of his sons succeeded him in Naples and his brother, Don

[1] See vol. i, p. 389.

[2] In 1760 Bristol reported that Spain had only fifty line-of-battle ships and under 100,000 men enrolled in the army. (*Chatham MSS.* 93.)

[3] Bourguet, *Choiseul et l'Alliance Espagnole*, p. 228.

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Philip, was secured in Parma.[1] But he had now come to see that efforts at conciliation were useless. When he received Bristol's dispatch of August 31, stating that Bussy's memorial had been sent with the King of Spain's full approval, he knew at once that it meant war with Spain as well as France, and was not sorry for the opportunity of crushing both branches of the hated House of Bourbon at one blow. He had already told Bussy that it would pay England better to fight Spain than to have such a one-sided neutrality as Don Carlos gave her,[2] and he had measured, better than Choiseul, Spain's weakness. The combined Bourbon fleets, according to his calculations, barely equalled the English fleet in numbers and were immeasurably inferior in seamanship and in all the advantage which the prestige of long-continued victory confers.[3] All his plans for prompt action were laid. Attacks on Panama and the Philippines had been under consideration and appeared feasible, and he meditated a more audacious stroke which would cripple Spain at the outset. He rightly guessed that some temporizing expressions in Spain's answer to the memorial were introduced partly because the annual treasure fleet from America, then on its way, had not yet reached Cadiz. On this fleet Don Carlos depended to find not only the pay for his own army and navy but also a loan to enable his ally to pay hers. Pitt's plan was to recall Bristol immediately and strike at this fleet before Spain had time to warn it: Keppel with sixty sail off Cape Finisterre was available for the purpose. Since Spain intended to fight, why, he asked himself, allow her a moment's breathing space to complete her preparations?

'On this principle,' he reminded the House of Lords nine years later, 'I submitted my advice for an immediate declara-

[1] Pitt's policy on these arrangements is clearly enunciated in his dispatches of November and December 1758 and January 1759 to Gray at Naples and Mackenzie at Turin, in Record Office, *Sardinia and Savoy*, 67, and *Naples and Sicily*, 16, 17.

[2] *Aff. Etr. Ang. Cor. Pol.* 444, f. 216.

[3] Anson calculated that in September 1761 the English fleet had 105 of the line and 111 frigates, while Pitt's intelligence told him that France could put only 48 and Spain 57 ships into line. (See Waddington, iv, 631, and Corbett, ii, 196.)

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tion of war to a trembling Council.' On September 18 the Cabinet met to consider Pitt's proposals. But the very men who had supported him in his indignant rejoinders to France and Spain on Bussy's memorial now shrank back from the logical consequence of their action. All except Temple opposed an immediate declaration of war, fortifying themselves with Anson's opinion that the fleet was not in a position to meet the combined navies of France and Spain;[1] and Pitt's proposal to attack the treasure fleet without due warning was objected to as bad policy. In vain Pitt urged in one of his ablest speeches[2] evidence of an alliance between the two Bourbon Powers, to show them that there was no middle course between vigorous action and acquiescence in Spain's menace. Admitting part of their case, he allowed there was danger in a bold policy, but, he added, there was at least as much danger in delay: if they hesitated the golden moment would pass and Spain could strike at her own good time. It was useless, he concluded, to imagine that the House of Bourbon was still divided: 'France is Spain and Spain is France.'

All to no use. Men who in the past never dared to resist Pitt had gained courage from the gradual change of opinion on the war, manifested by the sudden veering round of Bute and the King on Pitt's extreme demands in the French negotiation: and eloquence had not the same power at the Council Board as in the House of Commons. Pitt was left alone with Temple: the rest unanimously rejected his sentence for open war and resolved to temporize. Bristol was to ask for further explanations from the Spanish Court and at the same time repeat Pitt's offer to evacuate the settlements in Honduras: the galleons were not to be attacked, but reinforcements were to be sent to the West Indies and Mediterranean fleets. Pitt fell back on the only resource left to him—to draw up a memorial of his advice, which Temple

[1] Anson's view was not that the English fleet was inferior in numbers, but that it had too many ships in need of cleaning and repairing after the prolonged service in the Bay of Biscay.

[2] So said even the second Lord Hardwicke, who hated him. (*Add. MSS.* 35870, f. 304.)

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also signed, for submission to the King. In this memorial he demanded the instant recall of Lord Bristol and declaration of war on Spain on the ground of the

unjust and unexampled proceeding of the Court of Spain by inforcing her demands on England through the channel and by the compulsion of a hostile power . . . and the full declaration and avowal at last made by the Spanish Ministry of a total union of councils and interests between the two monarchies of the House of Bourbon . . . matters of so high and urgent a nature as [to] call indispensably on His Majesty to take forthwith such necessary and timely measures as God has put into his hands, for the defence of the honour of the Crown and of the just and essential interests of His Majesty's people.[1]

This memorandum and a hint of resignation from Pitt alarmed the other ministers. Bute, Mansfield, Devonshire and Newcastle, who met at Devonshire House next day to discuss the situation, were all in a flutter at their own audacity in opposing Pitt's judgment. Bute reported that he had seen Pitt and urged him to lay aside his 'absurd and offensive paper'; Mansfield had been on the same errand; but Pitt had told them that, even if he did not hand the paper to the King, he should repeat the substance to him and lodge his protest formally with Bute. All four agreed that it would be awkward to have such a paper on record: it might be produced and quoted in Parliament as an argument against themselves: it would be equally awkward if Pitt retired, 'leaving the impracticability of his own war upon us.' For Pitt, they reflected, might after all prove to be right if Spain refused to give a satisfactory answer: 'we should then,' concludes Newcastle sorrowfully, 'have given Mr. Pitt such a handle against us as might have very bad consequences.' They resolved, therefore, if possible, to induce Pitt not to retire.[2]

On September 21 Pitt saw the King and presented his memorandum, which the King refused to keep and said he would postpone a decision until Stanley's return from Paris. At a

[1] The whole memorial is in *Grenville Papers*, i, 386.
[2] *Add. MSS.* 32928, ff. 248, 259.

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Cabinet meeting on the same day Pitt made another attempt to persuade his brethren. 'He spoke very long, very well, and very determined,' says Newcastle, 'but with great politeness and candour.' It is interesting, indeed, to notice that at all these last Cabinets, when he saw that the men who had previously surrendered all initiative into his hands were beginning to take a line of their own, he abandoned his arrogant airs and reasoned with them. All his care was to get sanction for what he knew to be right: it was no longer a case of impetuously brushing aside Newcastle's irrelevant scruples and questionings; he had to persuade the whole Council backed by the King himself, and he employed all his arts of persuasion in this final struggle. He had taken advice, he began, from the most able men and had found no reason to depart from his first opinion; he regretted that he had yielded against his better judgment in the French negotiation, and had no intention of repeating that mistake. Then, availing himself of an interruption from Mansfield, who asked how the operations against Spain would suffer by delay, he once more dwelt on the incalculable advantage of taking the enemy unprepared and insisted that a blow struck immediately could hardly fail against even the united force of the House of Bourbon: 'but,' he concluded, 'there is not an hour to be lost.' The effect of Pitt's earnestness was somewhat marred by an abusive speech from Temple on the same side, which Newcastle took up 'with spirit and, I think, to the satisfaction of my friends,' and the Council adjourned until Stanley's return, without altering its former decision. Thereupon Bute, Newcastle and Devonshire again resolved themselves into a private conclave to fortify one another by mutual assurances of their desire 'to do right by the public and . . . form a right minute of our own opinion in opposition to Mr. Pitt's paper.' The two dukes still thought every effort should be made to prevent Pitt's resignation, but when Bute, with clearer vision and with greater knowledge of his master's plans, told them it was impossible, they proceeded to discuss the claimants to his succession. On this subject they came to no satisfactory conclusion. George Grenville, who had quarrelled with Pitt

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and was therefore eligible, was objected to by Bute, Fox by Newcastle on the ground that it would be unwise to change 'from the most popular man to the most unpopular man in England.'[1]

A hopeful letter from Stanley, which had crossed Pitt's letter of recall, gave fresh confidence to the majority in the Cabinet. Pitt treated Choiseul's reported attempts to renew the negotiation as mere 'amusements,' and, according to Newcastle, was not disposed to trouble the King with it: but George III was now anxious to shake off Pitt whatever the result of this long discussion might be. On September 23 Bute, Devonshire, Mansfield and Newcastle, reinforced by Henley—no longer 'an unwilling Keeper,' but Lord Chancellor and a peer—met again to discuss the best way of ridding the King of his turbulent Secretary. Bute was against carrying on a 'paper war' with Pitt, in which he was no doubt conscious they would get the worst of it, and suggested that each of them should go in privately to the King and declare his objections to Pitt's paper: and so it was decided, in spite of Mansfield's fear that such a course might seem offensive to Mr. Pitt.[2] All the members of this *conciliabulum*, followed by Anson and Halifax, went in separately to the Closet with their objections to Pitt's bold policy. George III, who was every day becoming more 'offended' with Pitt, listened to them with pleasure. Arguments had then ceased to count with any of them. In vain Pitt produced Grimaldi's last letter, in which he wrote that Spain's whole object was to gain time till the fleet had arrived at Cadiz, and that, under the terms of the secret convention, 'France cannot finish the war without our affairs being settled.' In vain Stanley, on his return, instead of confirming his hopeful letter of the 15th, spoke of war as inevitable, much to the disgust of Newcastle, who reported his conversation as 'very long, dry and fruitless.' 'I am only waiting,' wrote Sackville, no friend of Pitt's, 'to see the

[1] *Add. MSS.* 32928, f. 303. An incomplete version of this letter is given in Rockingham *Memoirs*, i, 37, which contains a curious misreading of the phrase 'their unwise relaxations' in 'their *whistle* relaxation.' See also *Add. MSS* 32928, f. 362.

[2] *Ibid.* f. 325.

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ministerial herd kicking their driver and laying him on his back.'[1]

On October 2, a fortnight after his proposal for immediate hostilities with Spain, Pitt met his Cabinet for the last time. The meeting was at St. James's, and there was a full attendance, as befitted a solemn leave-taking: for Pitt knew that he was beaten, and all present expected that he would resign. Granville (Lord President), Temple (Privy Seal), Devonshire, Newcastle, Hardwicke, Ligonier (Commander-in-Chief), Anson and Mansfield—all these had fought with Pitt through the dark days that ended in the triumphs of 1759 and 1760; of the old ministers of Cabinet rank Bedford, still sulking in his tent after the 'thumpings,' Halifax and Lord Chancellor Henley alone were absent; the only new face was Bute's. Mr. Secretary Pitt briefly stated the reason for their meeting—to consider what answer should be sent to Lord Bristol, adding that he still adhered to the opinion expressed in his memorial to the King. The Lord President opened the discussion: 'I would be behindhand in nothing,' he said, 'but in the actual striking of the blow. . . . I admit the war would be popular in the City because of the prizes to be got. . . . But consider your strength. My opinion is to give no hostile answer to Spain; for what hostilities can you begin with advantage?' So spake the cautious Granville, changed indeed from the fiery Carteret whom Pitt used to flout for his rash adventures. Newcastle followed, arguing that we were founded neither in justice nor in prudence and expediency to begin hostilities. Then one after another the lords of the Council took up the same tale. Devonshire and Bute agreed with Newcastle. Hardwicke doubted much whether Spain would declare war against us: Choiseul's view, he thought, was to lay a trap for us by encouraging Spain to take such steps as, knowing our vivacity, might animate us to begin hostilities. Anson repeated what he had already told the King—that, Keppel's ships being foul, it would be two months before he had a squadron ready for any material operation. Mansfield was afraid of the effect on neutral

[1] *Historical MSS. Commission*, ix, App. iii, p. 16 *b*.

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maritime Powers, who would apprehend that they were all to be destroyed in turn. Old Lord Ligonier, timid in his dotage, was of opinion that the Spanish troops were not to be despised and that it would never do for us to declare war on such redoubtable adversaries. Not a word was said for Pitt's bold course. Temple, Pitt's ill-starred Thersites, angrily summed up the views of his brethren: 'In such a critical situation your lordships give the King no opinion at all'; then, gathering up his papers, flounced out of the Council-chamber. Pitt, convinced that he was right, but recognising that he could do no more, accepted his defeat. He stood up again to bid farewell to those among whom he had been supreme for four of the most eventful years in English history.

I have heard no new arguments [he began] against the opinion I formerly gave, and no advice has been offered the King except the paper I handed in to him. I therefore remain more and more convinced of the same opinion. I ground it upon the King's dignity and the interest of the kingdom. I have now in my bag so much matter—letters of Stanley, letters of Grimaldi—as I think would be criminal matter against any Secretary of State who lets it sleep in his office. Spain's conduct in putting forward her grievances under the shield of England's enemy, with whom we are at war, is the highest indignity that ever was offered to the Crown of England, and it will fix an eternal stain upon that crown if no answer is returned to Spain's avowal of her action. As to the other consideration, the safety of the public—are we not already suffering from the worst species of war, when Spain supports France with her full weight, covers her trade, lends her moneys and abets her in negotiation? You are *now* at war with the House of Bourbon; but, for open war with Spain, you are prepared and she is not.

Then, firing up with the proud knowledge of his own worth and the source of his power:

Without having ever asked any one single employment in my life, I was called [he declared] by my Sovereign and by the Voice of the People to assist the State when others had abdicated the service of it. That being so no one can be surprised that I will

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go on no longer since my advice is not taken. Being responsible I *will* direct, and will be responsible for nothing that I do not direct.[1]

All sat silent, all save Granville, who was moved by Pitt's last words to show that he still had a spark of the old fire. But Granville was above petty jealousy and had paid a notable tribute to Pitt on the opening of the negotiation with Choiseul: 'Every person of candour,' he wrote, 'will agree to impute the happy setting out of this great affair . . . to the right author, whose spirit, and perseverance, and judgment, under some discouragements, to my own knowledge, have produced this salutary work.'[2] So now he began with a compliment to his services:

but [added he] I find the gentleman is determined to leave us, nor can I say I am sorry for it, since he would otherwise have certainly compelled us to leave him. If he be resolved to assume the right of advising His Majesty and directing the operations of the war, to what purpose are we called to this Council? The King might indeed take a foreign measure with his Secretary of State only; but, since the King has referred the matter to his Council, the opinion of the majority becomes the measure, the rest is only execution. When, therefore, the gentleman talks of being responsible to the people he talks the language of the House of Commons and forgets that at this Board he is only responsible to the King. However, though he may possibly have convinced himself of his infallibility, still it remains that we should be equally convinced before we can resign our understandings to his direction or join with him in the measures he proposes.

Pitt owned his great obligations to the Lord President, thanked the other lords of the Council for the courtesy they had shown him in the past, and rejoiced at seeing such union and such a conjunction of the greatest and most considerable men in this kingdom, as he hoped would carry on the King's business with success. He then left them. They, half-scared at their own temerity and sharing Rigby's doubts whether the administration could last a fortnight 'without the popular orator,'[3]

[1] The younger Hardwicke comments on these words of Pitt's in his father's account: 'N.B.—Surely the most insolent declaration ever made by Minister.'

[2] *Chatham Corr.* ii. 114.

[3] Lady Betty Waldegrave to Calcraft, October 4, 1761. (*Chatham MSS.* 86.)

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solemnly registered their opinion that Admiral Saunders should be reinforced and put on his guard, but that no further notice should be taken of Spain's insolence.[1]

Three days later Pitt formally resigned the seals into the King's hands. Proud and unbending to the rest of the world, he was always extravagantly humble in the presence of his Sovereign. His enemies said that he was intoxicated by a peep into the Closet, and that when he bowed to the King his great nose could almost be seen between his legs. This exaggerated deference was no affectation but due to Pitt's real reverence for the royal office and person.[2] While fully approving of the limitations imposed on the King's authority by the Revolution settlement, he would never have subscribed to the more modern development of constitutional doctrine that the King could exercise no initiative of his own. He had an almost mediæval belief in the king as a being apart, whose will in some mystical manner was an emanation of the people's will, if not of God's, and he thought that the choice of ministers was pre-eminently the province in which this will should be manifested. In his most rebellious moods during George II's reign—in his most indignant outbursts against George III's policy—he would never admit that a minister might be forced upon an unwilling sovereign. He had at once resigned his pretensions to be Secretary at War on hearing of George II's veto;[3] he had acquiesced in his exclusion from responsible

[1] See Newcastle's account in *Add. MSS.* 32929, f. 18, and Hardwicke's—*ibid.* 35870, f. 310. These accounts have been published—Newcastle's by Dr. Hunt, and Hardwicke's by Mr. Temperley on pp. 119 and 327 of *English Historical Review* for 1906. Both were evidently written down shortly afterwards from memory, and, while agreeing in the main, supplement one another in certain details. Granville's second speech is from Burke's version in the *Annual Register* for 1761, and, though possibly more elaborate than as Granville delivered it, its general accuracy is confirmed by Newcastle's rough jottings. It is also quoted as authentic in a contemporary pamphlet (*A Letter from a Rt. Hon. Person. . . .* (1761)). See also Mr. Winstanley's article on 'George III and his First Cabinet,' *English Historical Review* for 1902 (p. 678).

[2] Dr. King (*Literary and Political Anecdotes*, p. 96) said of Pitt: 'His eyes are fixed on the King; he goes into employment on purpose to serve him and thinks it his greatest happiness to execute his Majesty's gracious intentions.' The last phrase indicates an exaggerated view, but the rest is true.

[3] See vol. i, p. 146.

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office as long as he believed Hardwicke and Newcastle's assurances that he laboured under the King's irremovable displeasure;[1] and throughout his life he would never listen to proposals that he should accept office except on the King's direct invitation. Wolsey, when told by Cromwell of 'his displeasure with the King,' replied 'God bless him': and so might Pitt have spoken of his own King, George III. On this boy, young enough to be his own son, Pitt lavished in the early years of his reign a solicitude and a respect only partly accounted for by this peculiar deference to majesty. Until he was driven from this attitude by contumely after his last ministry Pitt seemed bent on enhancing his young Sovereign's lustre by an almost abject submission from his greatest subject.

In his audience of October 5 Pitt explained at some length his reasons for resigning: it would, he said, only create difficulties and altercations for him to remain in office when he could not reconcile it with his conscience to modify his views on Spain; but he had no intention of opposing the King's measures and would not attend the House of Commons except to defend his own policy or support supplies for the army and navy. In fact he made it clear that in retiring he meant to aid, not embarrass the King. George III, in the most gracious manner in the world, intimated his complete satisfaction with the Cabinet's decision, adding that he would not have known how to act had it concurred in Pitt's advice. He made no effort to retain Pitt, but expressed polite concern at losing so able a servant and offered him any reward in the Crown's power to grant. Pitt little expected such condescension, knowing, he told a friend, that an action of such decision as his, however dressed up or softened by manner, was naturally offensive to majesty. He was overcome to tears, replied that he was penetrated to the very soul by such manifestations of bounty and goodness, and prayed that any favours bestowed might be looked on as a reward not for past but for future services. Then, with his accustomed profound obeisance, he took leave of his master.[2]

[1] See vol. i, pp. 223 *sqq.*

[2] Gilbert Elliot had accounts of the interview next day from both Bute and Pitt. (See *The Border Elliots*, p. 367.) Burke's account in the *Annual Register* substantially agrees with them.

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Pitt was no longer minister, but his resignation was not announced in the *Gazette* for five more days; and there was good reason for the delay. Though Bute and the King had determined to get rid of Pitt and did nothing to keep him when they had a chance, they would not have chosen that moment for him to quit office, while the war was still unfinished and Bute's coffee-house runners had hardly done their work. Bute had tears in his eyes next day, when he described to a friend the scene in the Closet—tears not for Pitt but for his master's graciousness. It may have been true, as he was assured by the good Dodington, now raised to the summit of his ambition as Lord Melcombe,[1] that 'his lordship was delivered of a most impracticable colleague, his Majesty of a most imperious servant, and the country of a most dangerous minister'; but the trouble was that neither England nor the rest of the world saw Pitt in that light. Abroad Frederic was bound to feel the loss of a man on whose word he said he could always rely: Bute therefore insinuated to the Prussian envoys that Pitt, seeing difficulties ahead, had seized the first pretext to withdraw from the game and rest safely upon his laurels.[2] The City was already murmuring that 'our darling's resignation is owing to Lord Bute and he must answer for all the consequences.' Uneasy at the thought of what he might have to answer for, Bute resolved to turn the King's graciousness to good account. If Pitt could be persuaded, before his resignation was formally announced, to accept some favour or reward from the Crown, he would be muzzled, and his disinterestedness, one of the main reasons for his popularity, might be called into question. Accordingly on the day after Pitt's audience Bute wrote to him of the King's impatience to bestow some mark of royal favour and gave him the choice of being Governor-General of Canada or Chancellor of the Duchy with a salary of £5,000. To call upon Pitt to 'preside over a province acquired by his own ability and firmness' was a subtle stroke, especially as he was also told that the King

[1] The new peer eagerly proffered his services to Bute as a successor to Pitt 'in the most dangerous and difficult work.'

[2] *Pol. Corr.* xxi, 53, and Ruville, *William Pitt und Graf Bute*, 37 *sqq.*

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'would thereby convey to the world his intention of never parting with that great and important conquest,' and that he need not reside there or resign his seat in Parliament.

The King's impatience to bestow such favours was a delicate invention of Bute's, for the King was really incensed against Pitt and had long been alienated from him.[1] Nevertheless, Gilbert Elliot, Bute's Rosencrantz for the nonce, found Pitt with the letter before him, full of gratitude for the King's 'spontaneous bounty.' He refused Canada and the Duchy, but from no unwillingness to accept the royal favour. He told Elliot frankly that he would be pleased at rank for his family and an annuity for himself, if it were not on the 'opprobrious register of Ireland,' and in his answer to Bute he hinted the same in his most oriental language. 'Overwhelmed,' he wrote, 'with the extent of his Majesty's gracious goodness towards me, I desire the favour of your Lordship to lay me at the royal feet, with the humble tribute of the most unfeigned and respectful gratitude.' After this exordium and more in the same style he approached 'the subject of this extreme delicacy,' doubting 'the propriety of going into either of the offices mentioned . . . considering that which I have resigned . . . too proud to receive any mark of the King's countenance and favour, but above all doubly happy could I see those dearer to me than myself comprehended in that monument of royal approbation and goodness with which His Majesty shall condescend to distinguish me.' The King and Bute had hoped by conferring on him some sinecure to parade him in the chains of administration, but could not well refuse his request, however obscurely expressed. Accordingly Bute, somewhat against the King's wish, wrote another letter announcing that Lady Hester was to receive a peerage and Pitt himself a grant of £3,000 per annum for three lives on the Plantation duties. Pitt, in another letter of effusive thankfulness to the 'most benign of sovereigns,' accepted the peerage and the annuity, which the King's brother saw in its true light as a '*coup de parti*,' very skilfully given as 'a damper to Mr. Pitt.'[2]

Bute now had all his material for the *Gazette*. He did not,

[1] *Border Elliots, loc. cit.* [2] *Grenville Papers*, ii, 519.

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as he threatened to Hardwicke,[1] go the length of publishing Pitt's first letter with the exuberant verbosity of its humility and gratitude. But he gained his purpose equally well by skilful arrangement. In the *Gazette* of October 10, 1761, first appeared an anonymous report of intelligence from Madrid, stating that there was no reason to expect a rupture with England, and that 'the Catholic King had at no time been more intent upon cultivating a good correspondence with England.' So much for Pitt's foresight in declaring that Spain was on the eve of casting in her lot with France. The next paragraph touched his disinterestedness. In this the announcement of his resignation was immediately followed by the news of the King's intention to create Lady Hester Pitt Baroness Chatham, and to grant unto William Pitt an annuity of £3,000 for his own life and those of Lady Hester and their eldest son. Never before had the grant of a pension been published in the *Gazette*.[2]

Bute had not miscalculated the effect of this announcement. At first, when the rumour of Pitt's resignation got abroad after his interview with the King on Monday, October 5, all the indignation of the people was directed against his opponents in the Council. The confidence in Government, which Pitt's presence had inspired, was rudely shaken, and divisions which had been covered over since 1757 again became patent. But the trust in Pitt was unimpaired, and all that week petitions to the King to reinstate him were talked of from the City and other public bodies. On the Friday the report that he had accepted a pension began to be whispered: it was not believed, and, in Saturday's morning and evening newspapers, was indignantly contradicted as an attempt to tarnish the lustre of his great name. But at 10 o'clock on the Saturday night the *Gazette* came out with the formal announcement. Its effect in London is described by a contemporary who went round the coffee-houses to gather the feeling of the town. The countenances of all fell as at some great national disaster, and at Dick's there was 'dead silence and I think everybody went away without giving their opinion of the matter,' all

[1] *Add. MSS.* 32929, f. 143. [2] Walpole, *George III*, I, chap. vi.

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save a certain Dr. Collier 'who has always called Mr. Pitt all the rogues he could set his hand on.'[1] Even Pitt's warmest supporters lost their faith for the moment: 'the very night it happen'd,' writes Gray to Wharton, 'was I swearing that it was a damned lie and never could be: but it was for want of reading Thomas à Kempis, who knew mankind so much better than I.'

For some days the Dr. Colliers set the tone of criticism, and Pitt was pulled down from his pedestal and bespattered with mud. Nothing had been thought of a Holderness taking a pension of £4,000 from the Crown, but that Pitt should accept £3,000 seemed to prove that he had sold his honour and his convictions to those in power. Bute and Dodington's coffee-house runners had a fair field, and the crowd of pamphleteers —hired, it was said, at a cost of £100,000—ample material for their venom. His wife was dubbed 'Lady Cheat'em,' his services to the country were decried, his oratory was ridiculed, and he was contemptuously bidden 'enjoy your pension, Sir!' The country was congratulated on its tardy discovery that he was not the only great man, and that such merits as he possessed had been wiped out by his pension.[2] Hogarth, in *The Times*, lent his genius to portraying Pitt as the incendiary setting alight England's house while Bute was nobly endeavouring to quench the flames. 'The man is a fool,' contemptuously exclaimed a member of the House of Commons; 'if he had gone into the City and told them he had a poor wife and children unprovided for, and opened a subscripton, he would have got £500,000 instead of £3,000 a year.'

But the abuse was overdone, and Bute and his friends soon found that their malicious triumph was short-lived. A revulsion of feeling set in, and pamphlets began to appear justifying him for accepting a pension 'when the oar fell from his wearied

[1] See a letter of G. Cruch to Wm. Robinson at Naples dated October 12, 1761, quoted in *Notes and Queries*, 1st series, i, 65.

[2] See, among other pamphlets and pasquinades of 1761 in the British Museum: *A Letter to the Rt. Hon. Author*; *The Patriot Unmasked*, by John Trott Cheesemonger and Statesman; *The Rt. Hon. Annuitant Unmasked*; *Constitutional Queries . . . to the Admirers of a Late Minister*; *The Case of the Late Resignation set in a True Light*; *A Letter to His Grace the Duke of Newcastle.*

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hand.'[1] Even George Grenville, who had ceased to love him, had the generosity to see that the reward to Pitt was 'the highest and most honourable testimony which the King could bestow, or a subject receive, at the moment of quitting the King's service, upon differing with his whole administration.' Pitt himself also had something to say. He had known, he told Lord Granville, that his 'acceptance of a reward, which bore the name of a pension, would create much clamour among his friends and much triumph among his enemies,' but though habitually contemptuous of abuse he was moved from his reserve by the disappointment expressed by his City friends. When some of them came to reproach him he begged them not to be too hasty in their judgment:

> I have accepted a pension, but what of that? Is it not bestowed upon me for signal and important services, honourably acknowledged by his Majesty? I look upon it, permit me to say, as his thanks to me, and if I felt a pleasure in your approbation so singularly conferred upon me some time ago, if I was highly flattered by your example being so extensively followed as it was, surely you will allow me to receive the thanks of my Sovereign. I have accepted a pension, a reward for past services: how will that affect my conduct for the future? Shall I for that sooner betray you or my country—shall I for that be less honest, less vigilant of the public good?

Those present heard this justification with so much pleasure that they then ran into the opposite extreme and Pitt was obliged to moderate their affection and deprecate most earnestly any rash consequences of it.[2] In a public letter to Alderman Beckford he made an equally dignified statement of his position:

> only for the honour of truth, not in any view to court return of confidence from any man who, with a credulity as weak as it is

[1] *A Certain Great Man Vindicated*, by Philo-Patriæ; see also *Reflections occasioned by the Resignation, The Conduct of a Rt. Hon. Gentleman . . justified*, &c.

[2] Pitt gave an account of this scene to Lord Granville, who in those days 'used in general to set at home and receive such visitors as his high station and lively conversation attracted at all hours of the day . . . and by thus staying at home saw the ministers that were out as well as those that were in.' Granville reported Pitt's account to the Hon. T. Robinson, son of the pompous Secretary of 1754, who notes it in his memorandum book, preserved among the *Wrest Park MSS.* Pitt's letter to Beckford is in *Chatham Corr.* ii, 158.

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injurious, has thought fit hastily to withdraw his good opinion from one who has served his country with fidelity and success, and who justly reveres the upright and candid judgment of it, little solicitous about the censures of the capricious and the ungenerous.

The publication of this letter turned the scale in Pitt's favour. The City recovered its old enthusiasm and presented him with an address. On November 9 Pitt attended the Lord Mayor's banquet, at which the King was also present; and, so anxious were the City to show honour to their Great Commoner, that 'it seemed,' said Clive, 'as if King William instead of King George had been invited to that grand entertainment.'[1] Bute, in spite of a hired bodyguard of bruisers, was severely mauled by the mob on his way to the Mansion House. Once more it rained addresses, from Exeter, Chester, York, Norwich, Stirling, Dublin,[2] in praise of a minister 'who had roused the ancient spirit of this nation . . . and by integrity and steadiness united us at home and carried the country's reputation in arms and commerce to a height unknown before, by our trade accompanying our conquests in every quarter of the globe.' Cork, then the second city in Ireland, ordered a statue of him with the inscription on the base, 'Vera Icon Gulielmi Pitt cujus si nomen audies, nihil hic de fama desideres.'[3]

[1] Malcolm's *Clive*, ii, 210. Clive added that 'the King can never forgive him this unfortunate visit.' Pitt was certainly ill-advised to accept the invitation at Beckford and Temple's urgent entreaty; for he was the last man willingly to show disrespect to the King, and he deeply regretted it afterwards. (*Chatham Corr.* ii, 165.)

[2] Lucas, in a letter of November 1761, writes that the citizens of Dublin had long wanted to offer Pitt the freedom of their city but had been prevented by the influence of a 'certain great peer' (no doubt Bedford) (*Pretyman MSS.*, Orwell Park). The resolution of the Dublin corporation, offering the freedom to Pitt and Legge in 1757, is to be found in Almon, vol. iii. It is possible that, owing to the 'certain great peer,' this was not forwarded at the time.

[3] This statue is now in the Municipal Art Gallery of Cork. A photograph of it is reproduced as the frontispiece to vol. i. It was made by the sculptor Wilton, and was thought so good by Pitt that when he was consulted in 1766 by the agent for North Carolina about a statue of him for Charleston he recommended Wilton again. (*Magazine of American History*, viii, 214 *sqq.*) It gives a more life-like impression of the minister, who brooded lovingly over the country's welfare, than either of the two contemporary portraits by Hoare and Brompton. The photograph, from which this illustration is taken, is due to the kindness of Mr. Matthew Bourke, K.C., Recorder of Cork.

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The reward and the distinction for his wife, which Pitt accepted, were little enough for a man who had spent his life in the public service, who was poor and had a large family to provide for. Nevertheless it could be wished that Pitt had refused all reward like the Duke of Newcastle, who had spent four-fifths of a princely fortune bribing and entertaining in his party's interest, and quitted office a few months later without a pension and without honour save that of his own good name. If it had not been Pitt, it would not have mattered. Men were so used to those who made politics a stepping-stone to rich emoluments that they thought little of the pensions and rich sinecures of a Rigby or a Holderness, or even of a Grenville or a Walpole. It hurt Pitt to accept the gifts of the Greeks, because the people had always loved him for his scruples and his strict public honour and for showing himself concerned more with the public charge than the public money. It seemed as if he too had deserted them just for a handful of silver, and that they who had lived in his magnificent eye had one more lost leader to deplore. It was not so; and those who had first suspected him soon found that the Great Commoner's silence could not be bought. But, while his integrity remained untarnished, this condescension insensibly reduced, in the eyes of his countrymen, the heroic mould in which his character was cast.

Unquestionably Pitt was right in retiring when he did. Even if war was too terrible an answer to Spain's gross insult, nothing Pitt could have done would then have avoided it. Here his insight was just; and equally just his advice to strike at once and decisively. The pettifogging measures adopted by his colleagues were a return to the timid and hesitating policy of Newcastle and his friends at the beginning of the war, when, willing to wound and yet afraid to strike, they had begun hostilities without venturing on an open declaration. In spite of Bute's reassuring report of October 10, events soon justified Pitt. Spain, once secure of her treasure, no longer hesitated to provoke war. Then the moment for England's crushing blow at the House of Bourbon had passed. Pitt had a deeper reason also for

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believing that his period of usefulness as a minister was at an end. During the lifetime of George II Pitt, in spite of occasional acts of rebellion from Newcastle or Legge, was supreme in his Cabinet, and had only to make a plan to have it adopted. Speaking of those days many years later, he told Lord Shelburne that in that Cabinet there were no party politics and consequently no differences of opinion: in fact they were 'the most agreeable conversations he ever experienced.' But conversations were no longer so agreeable to Pitt when others ventured to take a leading part in them. He told Elliot frankly that he had resigned 'from a determination of not acting at all unless he directed. He painted in strong colours the inability of the Council, most of whom . . . now for the first time began to think for themselves. He owned he felt in his breast a superiority and right to lead. "Show me the man," said he, "that I ought to follow and I am ready to do it."'[1] Such a man is wasted if he has to dispute on every step to be taken with men beginning to think for themselves.

For just four years Pitt had held the destiny of England in his hand. Other conquerors have won more brilliant victories, have brought more territory under their sway, and have lived for posterity in a greater blaze of glory; but none, not Alexander, not Julius Cæsar, have changed such national dejection to such national triumph in so brief a space; few have ever made conquests of so lasting an import to their country. When Pitt was called to his post we had carelessly and perfidiously begun a war which was everywhere turning to defeat and disgrace. In Europe, Minorca and the Mediterranean were lost to us, and Englishmen were trusting to foreign mercenaries to repel an invasion of our very shores; in America, Braddock had paid for his incompetence by a defeat barely redeemed from ignominy by his own courageous death, and for want of a leader two millions of Englishmen were tamely expecting defeat at the hands of under 100,000 Frenchmen; in India, our fortunes had sunk so low that a native prince could sack one of our chief settle-

[1] *The Border Elliots*, 367–70.

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ments and massacre the garrison with impunity. A disgraceful peace seemed our best hope to avoid greater disaster. When Pitt left office the Pope of Rome said that he esteemed it the highest honour to be born an Englishman. In Africa we had taken away all the French possessed; in Europe our troops had beaten the flower of their armies, while our expeditions had insulted their coasts from Dunkirk to Bordeaux and had even occupied a parcel of France; on the high seas our fleets were supreme.[1] In America we had won a continent, in India we were masters of Bengal, and in other parts had no European rivals left—victories which ensured that in these two vast portions of the world the Protestant Anglo-Saxon—not the French Roman Catholic—civilisation should thereafter prevail. And in spite of the long war the commerce on which England's greatness then chiefly rested had never been so flourishing.[2] To Pitt all this was due. He did more: he united a people. 'With one hand,' as Grattan said, 'he smote the House of Bourbon, and wielded in the other the democracy of England.' When he came to power the

[1] During the war the total loss of the *French* navy was:

	Ships of the Line	Frigates
Taken	22	46
Destroyed	14	16
Lost	6	5
Totals	42	67

while over 4,000 guns and 800 trading vessels had been captured.

The corresponding *English* losses were:

	Ships of the Line	Frigates
Taken	2	7
Destroyed	0	3
Lost	17	21
	19	31

and about 900 guns and between twenty and thirty trading vessels had been captured. (See *Annual Register* for 1760, and Beatson, iii, 423–79.) La Cour-Gayet, *La Marine . . . Sous Louis XV*, puts the French losses slightly lower—at 83 ships and 3,880 guns.

In the above lists the comparatively few captures of 1762 are included.

[2] See above, p. 56. The Trade Returns in *Lansdowne House MSS.* 102, show that in the case of almost every country except France our trade was much greater in 1760 than before the war began.

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American colonists, unappreciated at home and handled with insolence by the tactless English officers in their midst, were barely restrained from mutiny by the French and Indian danger. The Scottish Highlands were disloyal, Ireland's only institution that had a semblance of freedom was treated with contempt, and England, in the unmeaning rivalry of Whig 'haves' and Tory 'have-nots,' was fast losing her corporate sense. Pitt made Englishmen, Irishmen and Scotsmen fight side by side with American provincials like brothers, with no distinction save for those who fought best; he made politicians understand that the principal object of government was to carry on the country's work, and that before this object party must sink. Not George III's birth in Great Britain, but Pitt's continual success in the conduct of our public affairs united those who were real lovers of their country and dealt the final blow to Jacobitism as a political creed.[1] In the ardour of action he was faithful to the people's liberties. He upheld the rights of the Irish Parliament against Bedford and the full privilege of Habeas Corpus against the lawyers. 'When he is gone,' felt Gray on hearing of his dangerous illness, 'all is gone and England will be old England again such as before his administration it always was ever since we were born.' Pitt himself took a robuster view of his work's duration: 'If called to invigorate government and to overrule the influences of feeble and short-sighted men, I have in any degree succeeded, I have barely done my duty; and owe to success, to national virtue and to the favour of Providence the continuance of the suffrage of the manly and the able . . . [that] will sweeten and cheer my retreat.'[2]

[1] So says the old Jacobite Dr. King (*Political and Literary Anecdotes*, p. 194). Barré, speaking in the House of Commons in November 1770, said: 'When the greatest statesman that ever led our armies to glory was called to the helm, the first thing he did was to secure unanimity at any rate; having that broad basis he shook the power of France in every part of the world. Without that your fleets will not be manned, your armies will not be recruited; the very peasant in his hovel will be doing everything to paralyze your exertions.'

[2] *The Border Elliots*, p. 366.

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CHAPTER XIX

PITT AND THE PEACE OF PARIS

> England, bound in with the triumphant sea,
> Whose rocky shore beats back the envious siege
> Of watery Neptune, is now bound in with shame,
> With inky blots and rotten parchment bonds.
>
> SHAKESPEARE, *Richard II*, ii, 1.

PITT could hardly have borne the burden of his great ministry had it not been for the rest and happiness he found in his home. In April 1756[1] he had bought himself a quiet country house, Hayes Place in Kent, formerly occupied by his friend Mrs. Montagu, and not far from the Wests at West Wickham. Though within an easy distance of London, it was, and still is, remote from the bustle of a town, the only houses near being those of the tiny village that nestles round the old church outside Pitt's gates.[2] During his term of office he also rented 10 St. James's Square,[3] but got rid of it when he reduced his establishment upon his resignation,[4] and then

[1] Sanderson Miller, 328–9.

[2] Mrs. West, writing to Lady Hester, before she and her husband had settled in, tells her she will have to order from the Croydon butcher on Friday evening and that she can get fish and pork at Bromley as well as at Croydon. (*Chatham MSS.* 66.)

[3] From *Chatham MSS.* 40 it appears that he hired this house from his friend Thomas Heathcote from Lady Day 1759, and the rate books show that he was the tenant until 1762. Two prime ministers have since occupied the house—Lord Derby and Mr. Gladstone.

[4] Pitt's advertisement of the sale of his carriage horses, when he ceased being Secretary and had no need to keep up the state he thought befitting a minister of the Crown, did not escape the malevolent attention of the pamphleteers.

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went to live entirely in the country. Pitt was using no affected language when he told Elliot he was quite willing to practise his philosophy in a village.

> Ille terrarum mihi praeter omnes
> Angulus ridet,

he felt of Hayes then and until the end of his life. He began building on to the house from the first and making extensive alterations to the grounds—else he would not have been Pitt—and later, when the strain of hard work had told on his nerves, bought up all the surrounding fields and properties to exclude neighbours and ensure perfect quiet.[1] During his ministry he would gallop down to Hayes as often as he could spare a few hours from business, and here he tasted the happiest moments of his life. Lady Hester rarely came to London, but awaited him there with the children. With her the marriage, so sunnily begun, remained unclouded to the end. She loved and admired him, and had the strength of character and trust to yield in all things to his will, until the day came when she proved fit to think and act for both. He returned all her love and trust, and shared with her his griefs and joys for England. 'Suspense, painful suspense hold us in the midst of solicitudes and gloomy doubts. The great and only sure refuge, I trust, will supply all, and Providence preserve a nation in order to render it one day less undeserving of the divine protection,' he writes to her in the days of anxious waiting; and she is the first to hear the news of victories, brought post-haste from Whitehall by her husband's groom. 'A dispatch to my adored angel' is always 'infinitely more interesting, and important too, than all I could ever address to all the potentates of Europe.'[2]

Children, too, came to make Hayes more precious in his sight. The two eldest sons, John and William were born here,

[1] Walpole, *George III*, iii, 41. In a letter to his friend George Jackson in 1769 he writes, on hearing of his neighbour Mrs. Elliot's death, to ask if Jackson will negotiate for him the purchase of her estate, 'as it lies contiguous to my fields, it would be a most desireable acquisition for me.' (*Add. MSS.* 9344, f. 21.)

[2] *Chatham MSS.* 5.

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and here they and the other three children, Hester, Harriot, and James Charles spent most of their early childhood.[1] His loving care for the mother redoubled as they arrived, and he is half inclined to chide her for walking abroad 'with more courage than conduct' a full month after 'Stout William' came, first and not least of all the blessings in the year of Guadeloupe, Minden, Quebec and Quiberon Bay.

I wait with longing impatience [he writes] . . . after much Court and more House of Commons, for the groom's return with ample details of you and yours. Send me, my sweetest life, a thousand particulars of all those *little-great* things which, to those who are blessed as we, so far surpass in excellence and exceed in attraction, all the *great-little* things of the restless world.

'The young ones are so delightfully noisy that I hardly know what I write' is the conclusion of another letter describing his anxiety about Louisburg. Sometimes, when she is visiting a brother at Wotton or at Stowe, he sends the reports to her. 'Babes are as well as can be. Hetty is drunk with spring and joy. John, thank God, begins to mend his cheeks already and will be soon a ruddy yeoman of Kent. Harriot must not be forgot and looks round for applause. The old gentleman is well as can be expected, he has been a horseback above two hours not a little tired,' runs one such report; 'I read with raptures your loved letter,' runs another. '. . . in the midst of the dear infants who scrambled for dear Mama's seal . . . your ever passionate husband, W. Pitt.' In a third Hetty's chase of a butterfly is set down as the chief event at Hayes, 'but the sport was growing too hot, and we wisely agreed to whip off to renew the hunt another day.' Even during the negotiations for peace he receives bulletins of the nursery from 'Pam,' the nurse, when Lady Hester is away, and hopes to shake off Bussy for a Saturday, to do haymaking with the children.[2]

[1] Pitt's children were: Hester, born November 1755 at the Pay Office; John, born October 10, 1756, at Hayes; Harriot, born April 1758, in London; William, born May 28, 1759, at Hayes; James Charles, born April 24, 1761, at St. James's Square.

[2] See *Chatham MSS.* 5, *Chatham Correspondence*, and *Grenville Papers*, *passim*, for these and similar letters.

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In this blessed retreat at Hayes Pitt spent most of the next few years cobbling up his constitution, which, never robust, gave signs of breaking down altogether towards the end of his ministry.[1] Faithful to his promise to the King and to his own guiding principles, he studiously avoided all systematic opposition to the government of the country. He attended Parliament only on questions that stirred him deeply, and for two years—1764 and 1765—scarcely left Hayes. But the 'philosopher in a village' neither forgot the world nor was forgotten. Foreign princes, ministers, politicians, soldiers and sailors, who had fought in Pitt's wars, all found their way to the little village of Hayes to ask for the opinion the most considered, if not the most followed, in England. Voltaire, Algarotti, Sterne, Warburton and Boswell were among his correspondents; Frederic still sent his envoys to consult him. Pitt on his side welcomed information from all quarters. From an old friend at the Admiralty he received reports of the state of the navy;[2] the American colonists learned to tell him of their troubles and seek his advice.[3] Henry Flood, introduced to him by his uncle Lord Grandison, paid him a visit and gave him an account of the new patriot party and its hopes for the regeneration of Ireland. Young men like Grafton and, later, Shelburne, who shared his high ideals of national policy and showed promise of capacity, were always sure of a welcome from him when they sought his counsel at Hayes or at his little lodging in Bond Street.

Pitt had been replaced as Secretary of State by Lord Egremont, son of the Tory leader, William Wyndham, and as Leader of the House by his brother-in-law, George Grenville. He declared himself satisfied with Egremont, but never quite forgave Grenville for abandoning the fortunes of the Cousinhood when he and Temple left the Ministry.[4] A month after his resignation he appeared in the House for the debate on the

[1] Phillimore, *Lyttelton*, ii, 612.

[2] *Add. MSS.* 9344: George Jackson's letter to Pitt.

[3] He showed his interest in the infant King's College of New York by a donation to its funds. (*Chatham MSS.* 46: Jay to Pitt.)

[4] The more ominous appointment of Bedford to the Privy Seal was not made until November 25.

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Address. It was a newly-elected House, to many members of which Pitt's power and eloquence were unknown except by repute, and it contained a 'knot of chicken orators,' bent on exhibiting their prowess at his expense. These chicken orators attacked Pitt's conduct and the excessive cost of the war in Germany. No ministers rose to repel their attacks, but, as Pitt sat there alone, all eyes were turned on him, and when he rose all ears were strained for his least word—and not only in the House, but in the country and throughout Europe. The ministers of Frederic the Great were under the gallery to report his words to their master,[1] and the Spanish ambassador, ready to hand on to his own court and to the allied court of France any menaces that might fall from their great adversary.[2] But those who came hoping that he would sow disunion in the ranks of the nation were disappointed. The Prussian envoys said he entirely belied the suspicions of his adversaries; the Spanish ambassador noted his adroit praise of the Ministry for continuing his own system and safeguarding with undiminished vigour the King's honour and the national interests. Even Lord George Sackville could say no worse of the speech than that 'he spoke with great ability, his ground was tender, and he possessed his temper through the whole debate. Garrick never acted better. He was modest, humble, stout, sublime, and pathetic, all in their turns, and though the matter was as open to reply as possible, yet the manner and language was not to be equalled.'[3]

November 13, 1761.

The press, 'that chartered libertine of the air,' he scornfully began, had been levelling abuse at him, but he disdained to read it when he had his Virgil or his Horace to turn to: any defence that was needed for his resignation, when unsupported in the Cabinet he was no longer allowed to guide, he would confidently leave to his countrymen. But he had not come that day to inflame, and rejoiced that no question had arisen to impair unanimity, though he could have wished that a bill for continuing the militia had been presented[4] and that some minister had risen to defend the German war. Much had been

[1] Schaefer, ii[2], 742.
[2] *Historical MSS. Commission*, IX, iii, p. 17a.
[3] Waddington, iv, 616.
[4] See above, p. 41.

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said about its cost; but what was another 12 millions to a great nation which had already spent 100 millions on the war, when that 12 millions might mean the perfection of so great and glorious a work? Let those who counted the cost stand behind a counter, and not meddle with the government of a kingdom.

America [he declared in a famous phrase] has been conquered in Germany, where Prince Ferdinand's victories have shattered the whole military power of that great military monarchy, France. Recall the troops from Germany, and I should be robbed of my honour, while England, by deserting her allies, would be deserted by God and man. And, honour apart, nothing but that spectre of an invasion which the Ministry of 1755 had not constancy enough to look at, frightened us out of Minorca. So would it be again, if the troops of France found themselves at liberty to quit Germany.

With a final word of regret that he had been unable to carry the Cabinet with him in seizing the occasion, now irrecoverable, of a vigorous offensive on Spain, he closed with Scipio's words, 'Utere sine me consilio meo, patria.'

The Ministry breathed again at being let off so lightly. George Grenville thought it necessary to report, as a proof of Spain's good intentions, that she had restored an English cutter, and professed he would do his duty without fear; whereupon the Address passed without a negative. But a month later Pitt was called upon to fulfil his engagement to support supplies for the army and navy and had to defend the Cabinet's plans against some of their own number. On December 9 the Secretary at War proposed a vote of £1,000,000 for the army in Germany. George Grenville, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, gave but lukewarm support to the motion, talking of the 'bitter dregs of an exhausted cup' left to the nation by Pitt;[1] and another member, Delaval, again reminded Pitt of his phrase to Fox that the treaty with Prussia would hang like a millstone on the neck of any minister.[2] Pitt was used to having this millstone brought up against him[3] and was never at a loss how to deal with it.

[1] Quoted in *North Briton*, No. 3.

[2] See vol. i, p. 270. Delaval had a grudge against Pitt for his speech on the Berwick election of 1754 (*ibid.* p. 255).

[3] See vol. i, p. 305.

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December 9, 1761.

> As Germany was formerly managed [he now retorted] it was a millstone about our necks; as managed now, it is a millstone about the neck of France. When I came in, I found the subsidy to Prussia dictated by Hanover, not by Great Britain. I insisted that national defence and America must stand first, nor would I agree to the German war until every other service had been provided for. I acceded to the plan of a Ministry that wanted vigour and borrowed their majority to carry on their own plan. But I carried it on in my own way, and, though that may have been the wrong way, I offer myself *confitentem reum*, if I have not thereby annihilated French power in the East and West Indies.

Then, looking Fox full in the face, he added, 'if any gentleman in this country should venture to take the lead on any other plan but the present, I would make his heart ache:—and now I think I have answered the millstone.' He concluded with a passionate appeal to the House not to abandon England's ally—that man born to administer military wonders to the world—who was *adversis rerum immersabilis undis*, or Ferdinand, the general who had commanded British troops and had stood like a rampart to cover Germany. The effect of this speech was so great that all opposition disappeared, and the supply was voted unanimously.

Nevertheless, the sport of baiting the fallen minister was not dropped by the 'chicken orators' and others. Next day, when Pitt was away, Sackville and Fox's nephew, Bunbury, again attacked his German policy. Their efforts were coldly received, but it was otherwise with the speech of another new member. Coming in late in the afternoon, Horace Walpole relates, he found a strange figure addressing the House—a black, robust man of military bearing, who had a distorted face and a savage glare in one eye owing to a bullet wound. But though his countenance was hard-favoured and unpleasing his language was classical and his speech eloquent, as of one accustomed to harangue before the most critical audience in Europe. His matter also was new: he abused the late King and his Hanoverian measures and spoke of Pitt as 'a profligate minister who had thrust himself into power on the shoulders of the mob,' and also, somewhat inconsistently, as 'the execra

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tion of the people of England.' The speaker was Major Isaac Barré, wounded in the Quebec campaign, when acting as adjutant-general to his friend, Wolfe, whose death he witnessed. In 1760 he had sent several letters to Pitt asking for promotion, but Pitt refused somewhat peremptorily [1] to break through the rule he had made of never interfering in questions of military rank. Barré replied sarcastically that he was highly grateful for the attention bestowed on his case by Pitt, and nursed his grievance. He obtained an opportunity of airing it through Shelburne, a young peer then attached to Bute and Fox, who brought him into Parliament as member for Wycombe on his undertaking to convince the House of Commons that it had been unduly scared by Mr. Pitt. By this first effort he achieved some success: Charles Yorke took up the late King's defence, but nobody said a word for the absent statesman.

Next day Pitt was back in the House on a motion for Spanish papers, and Barré, who, unlike most of Pitt's ill-wishers, did not want for courage, renewed the attack. Pitt, in a temperate speech, defended his own policy and described his efforts to keep on good terms with Spain; but on the ministers' plea that the motion was premature agreed not to press it. Thereupon Barré fell upon him, addressing him by name and attacking his inconsistency, his arts, his popularity, and his ambition. 'There he would stand,' he said, 'turning up his eyes to heaven that witnessed his perjuries, and laying his hand in a solemn manner upon the table, that sacrilegious hand that had been employed in tearing out the bowels of his mother-country.' Pitt merely turned round to Beckford to inquire how far the scalping Indians cast their tomahawks, and sat, like the lion challenged by Don Quixote, serenely unconcerned at the abuse until Barré accused him of feeling no confidence in his Sovereign. At the mention of the King's name Pitt sprang up to order, declaring that no word guilty of so foul a crime had ever fallen from his lips. A wrangle ensued on the point of order. Barré was for giving way, but Fox hallooed him

December 11, 1761.

[1] In one of his letters Barré writes, 'I am very unhappy to find that I am accused of overrating my services.' (See *Chatham MSS.* 18, and *Chatham Correspondence*, ii, 41.)

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on.[1] Pitt, Barré continued, was a chameleon, who turned to the colour of the ground he stood on, and he had created all the trouble with Spain and the confusion in the country by his unjustifiable resignation. When he sat down he began munching a biscuit to refresh himself. 'Does it eat biscuit?' exclaimed a member—'I thought it had fed on raw flesh'; but no member stood up to defend the greatest man among them; 'the House,' it was said, 'would not have suffered such scurrility on any other person, but they sneered to see the great warrior worried.' Pitt himself, speaking of this time, said that 'out-Toried by Lord Bute and out-Whig'd by the Duke of Newcastle, he had nobody to converse with but the Clerk of the House of Commons.'[2] It was not a creditable day for the House.[3]

But amends were made five months' later,[4] when Barré once more attempted a flaming, scurrilous speech against Pitt. The House, by that time ashamed of itself, discountenanced him; some members left the House pointedly, others shuffled about in their seats, talked with one another, coughed, and would not hear him. One honest country member was so moved at Barré's rough and indecent handling of so great a man that he recalled the words of Demetrius, in whose absence the fickle and inconstant Athenians pulled down the thirty-six statues they had once erected in his honour: 'What said Demetrius for all that?—"They have not pulled down that virtue, for which they did erect those images."'

By that time the most brazen opponent had been forced to admit Pitt's wise foresight. His successors' request for further explanations from Spain had been contemptuously rejected, though the Spanish ambassador was careful to attribute 'the horrors into which the Spanish and English nations are going to plunge themselves . . . to the pride

[1] In 1771 Charles Fox attacked Barré for 'assassinating Mr. Pitt behind his back.' Barré retorted that 'if the gentleman would go home he might learn the name of the person who set me upon that assassination.' Barré also mentioned that on this occasion Fox hurried after Pitt, telling him he hoped Pitt did not think he had anything to do with the outrage.

[2] *Add. MSS.* 32945, f. 1.

[3] Besides Walpole's account, a good description of the scene by Sir James Caldwell is quoted in *Cavendish Debates*.

[4] May 12, 1762.

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and unmeasurable ambition . . . of the minister Pitt.'[1] On January 4, 1762, three months after Pitt's resignation, when the galleons had safely brought in the pay for the French and Spanish armies, George III declared war against the King of Spain. In the debate on this declaration Pitt disclaimed any personal triumph, and, in answer to Lord North's sneer at him as 'an abdicated minister . . . overfond of new hostilities,' dwelt on his previous endeavours to avert war with Spain—'if it were not too much for a poor individual, for an abdicated minister, to say.' But the burden of his speech was a call for national unity: January 19, 1762.

> Now it must be the King, it must be the Administration, the Parliament, nation, army and navy, who are to carry on the war; and I pray God it may all be enough! Yet I think we are equal to the whole. . . . The moment has come when every man ought to show himself for the whole. I do, cruelly as I have been treated in pamphlets and libels. Arm the whole! Be one people! This war, though it has cut deep into our pecuniary, has augmented our military faculties. Set that against the debt, that spirit which has made us what we are. Forget everything but the public! For the public I forget both my wrongs and my infirmities.

In the services Pitt's spirit still lived, though he was no longer directing operations. Rodney and Monckton, whom he had sent to Martinique before his resignation, captured it on February 12, 1762; Grenada, St. Vincent and St. Lucia then fell into their hands, and France was left with nothing but half the island of San Domingo in the West Indies. Spain lost Havana, the capital of Cuba, and Manila in the Philippines within ten months.[2] But at Whitehall the spirit was not the

[1] Mahon, chap. xxxviii. Titley, the English envoy at Copenhagen, wrote: 'From what I have seen here, it appears plainly to me that the court of Spain has declared war against Mr. Pitt. And surely, of all the great and singular honours hitherto paid to the Right Hon. gentleman this is the most extraordinary one if not the greatest.' (*Historical MSS. Commission, Weston Underwood*, p. 325.)

[2] Havana was taken by Lord Albemarle on August 12, and Manila by Colonel Draper with East Indian troops on October 5. It is stated by Almon that the plans for the Havana expedition were prepared by Admiral Sir Charles Knowles and submitted to Pitt, who approved of them before his resignation, while the actual details were elaborated by Anson and the Duke of Cumberland. (See also *Rockingham*, i, 93; *Corbett*, ii, 246; Almon, *Biogr. Anecdotes*.)

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same. Owing, it was said, to the neglect of Pitt's advice that more ships should be sent to the American station,[1] St. John's, Newfoundland, was captured by the French. Choiseul had craftily set Spain to invade Portugal, England's ancient ally,[2] in the hope of distracting England's attention from Germany.[3] Bute was only too ready to fall in with his views, for though he had originally supported Pitt's German war,[4] he was now glad of any excuse for abandoning a policy which had become unpopular. The need of sending assistance to Portugal was put forward as a reason for cutting down the expenses of Ferdinand's army, and a sudden change in Frederic's fortunes for breaking off the alliance with him.

In January 1762 the Czarina Elizabeth, Frederic's implacable enemy, had been succeeded by the half-witted Peter, who had an almost idolatrous reverence for the Prussian hero. Bute chose this moment for two measures bound to alienate Frederic. He first made advances for peace to Vienna, which Kaunitz haughtily repulsed and then reported to Prussia. Next, with incredible folly, he had an unguarded conversation with the Russian ambassador, who represented Bute to his master as anxious that Frederic should be driven by pressure from Russian troops to sue for peace. This report was also forwarded to Frederic by the Czar. Finally, Bute not only declined to

In an interesting article in *The Athenæum* for July 12, 1902, it is rightly pointed out that there is no evidence in the *Chatham MSS.*, or in the official papers at the Record Office, that Pitt had formed any such plan: on the other hand the writer of the article omits to notice that in his speech on the Preliminaries Pitt distinctly said he had planned this conquest because it would put all the Spanish treasures and riches in America at our mercy. No doubt Pitt discussed it with some of his generals and admirals, without drawing up the formal instructions.

[1] See *A Review of Mr. Pitt's Administration* (1763).

[2] At the moment there was a coolness between England and Portugal because of a recent attack on the privileges of the English wine company at Oporto by the Lisbon government. Pitt was attacked in the House for not having paid sufficient attention to this complaint. It appears, however, from the office records that he gave instructions to our ambassador to make strong representations on the subject to Portugal. (See Record Office—*Foreign, Various*, 68–71, *Portugal, passim.*)

[3] On April 16 the Sardinian minister at Paris, no doubt on a hint from Choiseul, advised the English ministers to devote their energies to the defence of Portugal, telling them that they had little to fear from the French troops in Germany. (*Lansdowne House MSS.* vol. 9.)

[4] See vol. i, p. 357.

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renew the treaty of alliance with Prussia but withdrew his original offer of a subsidy on the ground that Frederic would not make adequate peace proposals and had no longer Russia or Sweden against him. Frederic was furious and said so in no measured language. He even consulted Pitt whether he should not publish extracts of the correspondence for the House of Commons and refuse to have any further dealings with Bute. Pitt very wisely discountenanced such proceedings and advised him to wait for the growth of public opinion against Bute.[1] But Pitt did not need Frederic's confidences to see how the wind blew. In February Bedford had moved a resolution in the House of Lords condemning the war in Germany, and Bute, instead of giving the direct negative to his colleague, had ridden off on the previous question. Pitt knew also that the Duke of Newcastle, always a warm supporter of the German policy, had vainly pleaded for adequate supplies for Ferdinand's army, and was on the eve of being driven out of the Ministry.[2] Lastly, in May, he noted Lord Granby still attending his duty in the House of Commons instead of being at the head of his troops in Germany: 'I know,' he said, with a stately bow in his direction—'I know his lordship's zeal for the service of his country is such that, if he had received his orders, I am sure he would not be now where he is.'

[1] From Bute's own version of these transactions—given in Adolphus, i, 483, etc., and in Bisset, *Mitchell Memoirs*—it appears that Prince Galitzin either misrepresented or misunderstood him, and that a proposal relating to Silesia made to Vienna by Bute's go-between, Prince Louis of Brunswick, was entirely unauthorized by Bute himself or his ambassador, Sir Joseph Yorke. But the best that can be said for him is that he was singularly unfortunate in the agents he chose, and that he laid himself open to misconstruction by his language. Actual treachery to Frederic is certainly not proved. See also, for Bute's side in the dispute, von Ruville, *Pitt und Bute*, and *Buckinghamshire Papers*, vol. i. Frederic states his grievances with his accustomed vigour in his *Memoirs* and *Correspondence*. Pitt did not see the Prussian ministers himself, on the ground that he avoided, as far as possible, all communications with foreign ministers, but conveyed his advice through Temple. (Prussian Archives—Rep. 96—*Gross-Britannien*, 33 f.)

[2] The duke characteristically chose some petty points of office procedure and patronage as the ostensible grounds for his resignation on May 26. For some time he had been complaining that the only method he had of doing business with the King was by message to Lord Bute through the Duke of Devonshire. (*Bedford Corr.* iii, 58.) Bute succeeded him as First Lord of the Treasury; Halifax became Secretary of State in Bute's place.

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To Pitt the sudden revolution in Russian policy seemed the opportunity for cementing a northern alliance between England, Prussia and Russia to act as a bulwark against Bourbon ambition. It remained an unaccomplished dream then and when Pitt himself returned to power, because Bute, by refusing to contemplate an alliance with Russia[1] and by permanently estranging Frederic, missed the opportunity which could never be recovered. It was not for want of warning from Pitt. When the vote of credit for the war was proposed, insufficient though it was for the avowed objects of supporting campaigns in Portugal and in Germany,[2] he was too artful to attack the Ministry directly. He took the line that he was the only man who agreed with the whole administration, for he approved of both campaigns. He was not afraid, he said, of the larger war before them, since it was in constancy with his own plan of reducing the House of Bourbon. Portugal must be set on her legs, not merely carried on England's shoulders; and he digressed into a eulogy—in which he was thought to squint at himself—of the great Portuguese minister Carvalho, a man intrepid and inflexible to danger. 'If,' he added, 'you, as a maritime power cannot protect Portugal, Genoa will next be shut against you; and then the ports of Sardinia:—What! ports shut against the first maritime power in the world!' Then, passing to Germany, he used an argument of Bute's for withdrawal as a main reason for another vigorous campaign:

May 12, 1762.

> Russia [he said] has acceded to Prussia—how much wiser to give money to that monarch now, when he is in a better situation, than as you would do, if he were still more distressed! Nay, that little teazing incident, Sweden, is removed by dread of the Czar. Sweden is a free nation, but factions and a corrupted senate have lowered it from the great figure it made an hundred years ago. Act now upon a great system, while it is in your power! A million more would be a pittance to place you at the head of Europe and enable you to treat with efficacy and dignity. Save it not in this last critical year! Give the million to the war at large, and add

[1] From *Bedford Corr.* iii, 74, it appears that Newcastle urged a Russian alliance.

[2] Only £1,000,000 was asked, £300,000 of which was required for Portugal. Newcastle had declared that £2,000,000 was necessary. (Rockingham, i, 108.)

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three, four, or five hundred thousand pounds more to Portugal; or avow to the House of Bourbon that you are not able to treat at the head of your allies.

Pitt pleaded to deaf ears. While he was speaking of a great system, while Frederic was writing of 'the glory to England to be unquestioned mistress of the sea, the glory to all of us to have successfully resisted the united force of Europe,'[1] Bute's only care was to patch up a peace with France and Spain and leave the King free to break the power of the Whigs.[2] Already he was immersed in one of the strangest negotiations with which England was ever concerned. Viry has been noted before as a busy intriguer at the court of St. James's,[3] and with Bute in power his intrigues had full scope. In Paris he had a friend of the same kidney, the Bailli de Solar, Sardinian minister to the court of Versailles. Barely a month after Pitt's resignation Viry writes to Solar that, now Pitt was gone and affairs are smoother in England, negotiations might be resumed: Solar urges Choiseul to consider the suggestion, seeing that the present Ministry are more 'pacific, polite, and honest' than Pitt's. In March 1762 Egremont confides the English terms to Viry, and in April an interchange of letters between Egremont and Choiseul leads to a resumption of negotiations. This time no envoys were sent, but the whole correspondence between the two courts was carried on by the two Sardinian envoys.[4]

On the English side there is a remarkable contrast between the conduct of these negotiations and Pitt's in the previous year. In spite of his arbitrary temper and his differences with

[1] To George III (Adolphus, i, 483).

[2] Nivernois, no unsympathetic critic of Bute, said a few months later that the Ministry wanted peace for three reasons: 1. To triumph over their enemies and remain in peace; 2. To give the King an opportunity to extinguish factions and establish his personal authority; 3. Not to have to sue for peace owing to lack of funds. (To Praslin, September 24, 1762, in *Oeuvres Posthumes*, ii.)

[3] See above, p. 71.

[4] The whole correspondence between Viry and Solar is to be found in the *Lansdowne House MSS.*, vols. 9, 10, 11. Isolated letters are found scattered about in the memoirs and correspondence of contemporary statesmen. Viry obtained an Irish pension of £1,000 after peace was signed under the name of 'George Charles, Esq. of Leicester Fields.' (*Cal. of Home Office Papers.*)

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his colleagues Pitt had never gone a step without fully consulting the Cabinet. Bute on the other hand treated the foreign intriguer Viry with more confidence than his English colleagues, giving away points behind their backs, sometimes with the connivance of Egremont alone, sometimes without even his knowledge.[1] On the French side the fear of Pitt's return was a constant obsession to Choiseul. He was naturally delighted with Bute's complaisant and underhand methods of negotiation, and in his letters was always crying up Bute's courtesy and noble sentiments, much to Mr. Pitt's disadvantage. On the Duke of Newcastle's resignation at the end of May he was seriously alarmed lest the Ministry might fall, and wrote that he was prepared to deal only with Bute and Egremont: if Pitt came back the whole negotiation would fall to the ground, since 'he would rather be a galley-slave than have any further transactions about peace with Mr. Pitt, who in return for his own frank proceedings showed himself unaccommodating, sometimes ill-tempered, and always obscure.' There was no such unaccommodating disposition now. Bute gave up St. Lucia, Goree and Guadeloupe at once, and Martinique as soon as it was conquered; but, to save his face in England, he told Choiseul he must publicly declare that France would never have treated for peace had not these concessions been made at the outset.[2]

With Bute prepared to sacrifice almost anything for peace, and with Choiseul in this amiable disposition, the obstacles were soon cleared away. The greatest trouble was the uniform success of the English arms. Granby had at last returned to Germany, and on June 24 defeated the French at Wilhelmsthal.

[1] The cession of St. Lucia to France was made secretly by Bute and Egremont; a definition of boundaries in America favourable to France was conceded by Bute alone on May 4. As late as July 12, Viry writes that Bute would be ruined if it came out that this definition was made by Bute's authority. When a concession had perforce to be agreed to by the rest of the Cabinet, Bute would send Viry to talk over the recalcitrant members. Viry used to find Grenville a difficult subject. He had some patriotic feelings and talked so much himself that it was difficult even for Viry to insinuate his own arguments. Once, Viry complains, Grenville made him 'un discours que je crus ne finirait que le lendemain.'

[2] Viry to Solar, August 4. 1762 (in cypher).

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Bute, writes Viry, was surprised at the news,[1] as well he might be, seeing that he was doing his best to restrain Prince Ferdinand and Granby's ardour, and growing more annoyed at each succeeding victory which made public opinion in England less disposed to accept the kind of peace he was preparing. When all the real work of negotiation had been accomplished in the dark, the Duke of Bedford was sent to France and the Duc de Nivernois to England to conclude the formalities with befitting splendour.[2] Bedford, as the opponent of Pitt's views and of the Prussian alliance, was an apt choice, and he gave away some more advantages to the French. The news of the conquest of Havana, received on the last day of September, upset Bute and Bedford's calculations: they were only prevented from returning it without an equivalent by the firm stand taken up by Grenville and Egremont, who insisted on some compensation.[3] On November 3, 1762, the Preliminary Articles of Peace were signed at Paris by Bedford, Choiseul and Grimaldi.[4]

This treaty was brought to old Lord Granville on his death-bed and, according to Wood, Pitt's former under-secretary, he 'recovered spirits enough to declare the approbation of a dying statesman . . . on the most glorious war and most honourable peace this nation ever saw.' 'After such a war it would indeed have been difficult to make a treaty which did not leave England in a better position than before. Canada with its outlying provinces, Senegal, St. Vincent, Tobago, Dominica and the Grenadines, were added to the British Empire; Minorca was returned for Belleisle; the fortifications of Dunkirk were to be demolished; and in India France was to be left without troops in Bengal and to be restricted to the factories she had on January 1, 1749, before Dupleix began his

[1] Viry to Solar, July 2, 1762 (in cypher). See also Harris, *Hardwicke*, iii, 285, for a picture of the 'surprise' and annoyance at Court on receipt of the news.

[2] For a catalogue of Bedford's stewards, cooks, coachmen footmen, and scullions, and of his chariots and allowances, see *Bedford Corr.* iii, 93.

[3] *Bedford Corr.* iii, 130–3. For Grenville's attitude, see Rockingham, i, 128.

[4] The formal Treaty of Paris was signed on February 10, 1763.

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career of conquest.[1] Lastly, Spain gave up Florida[2] in exchange for Havana, and evacuated the few fortresses that she had captured on the frontiers of Portugal. But, good as this treaty was in laying the foundations of our Indian and Canadian dominion, it was not even so favourable to England as that demanded by Pitt before the conquest of Havana, Manila, St. Lucia, and Martinique, and contained in it the germs of future disputes. Not only were the Newfoundland and St. Lawrence fisheries left to France, but Miquelon as well as St. Pierre was granted as a drying station, and with more favourable terms as to supervision than Pitt would have admitted. Goree was returned to France, whereby much of the value of Senegal was diminished. In the West Indies, in spite of all our conquests, France regained Guadeloupe, Martinique and Marie Galante; and St. Lucia, an island to which Pitt had always attached great importance for its strategic position, and to which the French had no real claim, was confirmed to them by Bute's secret machinations;[3] so that France was actually in a stronger position in the West Indies.

In Pitt's eyes the treaty left the Bourbons hardly scotched, in spite of all the successes of the war. Speaking in March 1770, he declared that after the final victories of 1762 France was in the dust at England's feet, and that had he been minister he would have ensured peace for the future by limiting the French fleet as the Romans had limited the fleet of Carthage.[4] But in his judgment the worst blot on the peace was the loss of England's honour by the desertion of our ally and the death-blow thus struck at his hopes of a northern alliance to neutralize the Bourbon Family Compact. Frederic had been assured by

[1] Bedford deserves some credit for his firmness in insisting upon January 1 instead of July 15, 1749. The latter date would have left the French with some of Dupleix's conquests. (See *Cavendish Debates*, i, 606, and *Bedford Corr.* iii, 193.)

[2] France immediately compensated Spain with Louisiana, which had become useless to her.

[3] See p. 140. For St. Lucia's importance strategically, see Corbett, ii, 339. By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle St. Lucia had been defined as a neutral island to which neither France nor England was entitled.

[4] See account of Chatham's speech of March 2, 1770, in *Aff. Etr. Angl. Corr. Pol.* 491, f. 2.

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the English Ministry that the immediate evacuation of Wesel and his other possessions in French hands would be insisted on, but at the last moment Bedford allowed the insertion of so vague a time limit that the Austrian troops would have been able to come up and take those places over from the French before Frederic could seize them; moreover, no restriction was set, as Pitt had intended during his negotiations, on the assistance to be given by France to the Empress. Frederic, it is true, had set the Ministry against him by his methods. In his letters to his envoys, most of which Bute duly read before they were delivered to their address, Bute's perfidious conduct was contrasted with Pitt's honest behaviour, and his actions characterized as fitting him only for Bedlam; and suggestions were offered for stirring up a pamphlet war against Bute and favourites generally and for the promotion of addresses against the Ministry from the large towns of the kingdom. But this was Frederic's way, and he had suffered much provocation from Bute's untrustworthy conduct. At any rate the belief that England had basely deserted Frederic after profiting by his victories made a lasting impression in Germany. More than a century later Bismarck attributed his distrust of England to this desertion of Frederic in 1762. 'But for the victories of Frederic the Great,' he says in his 'Reminiscences,' 'the cause of the King of Prussia would have been abandoned by England earlier than it actually was.' He speaks too of England's 'sudden transition from one point of support to the other, as happened in the Seven Years' War,' and concludes that 'respect for the rights of other states . . . in England lasts only so long as English interests are not touched,' and that 'the English constitution does not admit of alliances of assured permanence.'[1]

Many others besides Pitt, including some of Bute's own Cabinet, thought the treaty an inadequate return for all the British successes. Bute saw that even when the Preliminaries had been signed there was a danger that they might be indignantly rejected by the House of Commons, where

[1] *Bismarck, The Man and the Statesman*, tr. by A. J. Butler (1898), vol. i, p. 365; vol. ii, pp. 252–3, 289.

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he was not yet secure of his power. Therefore all his attention was now turned to gaining complete control of the House. By taking Newcastle's place at the Treasury he had obtained the power of the purse, and on Anson's death he had moved Grenville—who as Secretary of State had shown himself too uncompromising in his defence of the national interests—to the Admiralty. By October 1762 he had recognised that opposition to his treaty would have to be silenced by yet more drastic measures:

> If the storm thickens [he wrote with the fustian habitual to him] and danger menaces, let me stand foremost in the ranks. . . . I will now for the first time throw away the scabbard. My unwillingness to punish has been no little drawback to me. . . . Few, very few indeed, judge of me as I am . . . but now the King's situation, the perilous condition of the country, the insolence of faction demand a rougher hand, and I have taken my part.'[1]

The rougher hand turned out to be that of Pitt's old rival, Henry Fox, now once more called from his well-paid leisure as Paymaster-General to assume control over the House of Commons. Fox had no illusions about himself: he was 'most unhappy at quitting the quiet life he enjoyed,' and was quite aware that his own unpopularity would only be adding to Bute's: but he had one ambition still unsatisfied—a coronet for his wife, and, when his own rough work in the Lower House was done, another for himself, of a higher rank than the Chatham peerage. Fox's job, and his only job, was to secure a majority in the House of Commons: and no better man could have been chosen for the purpose. He had agents everywhere, he knew whom to employ, and how to work upon different dispositions and constitutions; his old connection with the army stood him in good stead in making it clear that military promotion would depend on subservience to the Government. He even persuaded Granby, with his powerful Rutland interest, to favour the peace,[2] and he spread havoc in the ranks of the Duke of Newcastle's

[1] To Shelburne, October 13, 1762 (quoted in Fitzmaurice, *Shelburne*).

[2] Granby himself was certainly not a man to be influenced by corrupt motives; but he was not a clever man, and was easily won over by the arguments of his old friend Fox.

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followers. Promises of preferment or threats of dismissal sufficed for some; with others, cruder methods were possible. He set up a vote-buying shop at the Pay Office, whither members of Parliament flocked to receive bankbills for £200 or more for a vote in favour of the peace; in one morning, the Secretary of the Treasury afterwards owned, no less than £25,000 was paid for this purpose out of the Secret Service fund. In a fortnight the work of buying approval for the peace was accomplished.[1] In the rougher methods the King himself led the way. The Duke of Devonshire, who disapproved of the peace, was insultingly denied admission to the Closet, whereupon he delivered up his staff of Lord Chamberlain—an act of independence for which the King struck him off the roll of the Privy Council. Stung by the insult to one of themselves, other Whig lords, including the Marquis of Rockingham, thereupon resigned their places at Court: it seemed, indeed, as Pitt had said in May, that the annihilation of party was only paving the way for those who intended to substitute one party for another.

One man was not to be bribed or frightened out of his independence. When Pitt was tempted with the most flattering offers to return to Bute's Administration he refused to support so incompetent a minister and declared he would never contribute to the yoke that Bute, by his insults to the nobility, his intimidation of the gentry, and his trampling on the people, was laying on the nation.[2] On hearing that old Lord Bath had expressed approval of the violent measures lately taken he replied that 'his Lordship was damning his country with his latest breath';[3] he exclaimed against the peace to the Duke of Cumberland and regretted that the war had not been carried on a year longer to ensure better terms;[4] and when Wilkes was sent to Hayes by Charles Townshend to find out his views

[1] For a good account of Fox's methods, see Riker, *Fox*, ii, 266 *sqq.*, and the authorities there quoted. For the extraordinarily open way in which such transactions took place, see the letter in *Grenville Papers*, iii, 145, from Lord Saye and Sele, returning £300 to Grenville—not with indignation but because 'a free horse wants no spur . . . [and] as good manners would not permit my refusal of it [at the time] when tendered by you.'

[2] Harris, *Hardwicke*, iii, 323 (T. Walpole's report of his talk with Pitt).

[3] *Add. MSS.* 32944, f. 277 (Pitt's talk with Nuthall).

[4] *Ibid*, 32945, f. 83.

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on the Preliminaries he said that if he could move from his bed he should declare publicly in the House his strong sense of disapproval on that great object, which was to decide the fate of England.[1]

Pitt, in truth, was ill, worn out by his labours and tortured with gout; and Fox, the careful manager, knew it. Since Pitt could not be bribed to join the Administration, it might answer the Ministry's purpose if the debate on the Preliminaries could be hurried on before he was well enough to take part therein. Accordingly, when one of Pitt's friends proposed that the debate, fixed for December 9, should be postponed for a week, Fox successfully resisted the motion. On the eventful day the ministers saw with satisfaction that Pitt was not in his place. Four speeches had been made, and one Harris of Salisbury was speaking for the Government, when suddenly a shout of exultation was heard from without. Such a shout could only be for one man. All eyes turned to the doors, and Pitt was seen at the head of an acclaiming concourse, borne in the arms of his servants, who set him down within the bar. Thence, with the help of a crutch and the assistance of a few friends, he crawled to his seat. He was pale and emaciated; languor was in all his motions. Dressed in black velvet, he had his legs and thighs wrapped in flannel, his feet covered with buskins of black cloth, his hands with thick gloves. Fox and some of his friends sneered, but the rest of the House was hushed, as he rose to say a few words in a feeble voice on the motion for adjourning the debate. This proposal was brushed aside, whereupon a general discussion began on the Preliminaries. After two speeches in support of them, Pitt rose once more.

December 9, 1762.

> Unattached to any party [he began] I am, and wish to be, entirely single. My sole reason for coming here to-night is to give the House an account of my personal and individual opinion, to which I feel in honour bound, after the part I have taken in affairs.

Dismissing a suggestion that Parliament was not competent to discuss the Preliminaries, 'for under this venerable, this lovely constitution . . . Parliament has an indubitable and

[1] *Historical MSS. Commission*, iv. 400.

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fundamental right to offer advice,' he examined the terms of the treaty in detail. He objected to our concessions—on the fisheries and in the West Indies, because

> ministers seem to have lost sight of the great fundamental principle that France is chiefly, if not solely, to be dreaded by us in the light of a maritime and commercial power: and therefore by restoring to her all the valuable West India islands, and by our concessions in the Newfoundland fishery, we have given to her the means of recovering her prodigious losses and of becoming once more formidable to us at sea.'

He objected also to our concessions in the East Indies, where France had no conquests to return, because 'we retain nothing, although we have conquered everything.' He contrasted Bute's desertion of Frederic, 'the most magnanimous ally this country ever had,' with the conduct of affairs during his own ministry, 'which will always be remembered with glory to Great Britain, owing to our perseverance with the German war and to our observing good faith to our Protestant allies on the Continent.' By this policy the French had been prevented from sending succours to their colonies in America, in Asia, and in Africa; and the same policy of alliance ought to have held for the future. Since our old allies the Dutch had been extinguished, and the Austrians had thrown themselves into union with the Bourbons, the only allies left to us were Prussia and Russia, Prussia the natural assertor of German liberties, and Russia 'that new Power lately scarcely thought of in Europe, that has started up and moves in her own orbit extrinsically of all other systems, but gravitating to each according to the mass of attracting interest it contains. That was the policy we should have kept before us; but what did he find?—The Bourbons united, disunion between us and our allies; the King of Prussia 'disavowed!—given up!—sacrificed!' In a word the Preliminaries were 'totally inadmissible.'

Pitt's speech lasted three hours and twenty-five minutes: it contained matter and reason in abundance and some passages of great beauty, but it wearied the House with its tedious and long-drawn arguments and its turgid phrases; Pitt's voice, too,

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was feeble and indistinct.[1] He was, indeed, so ill that he could not have sustained the effort without cordials and the indulgence, readily granted to him by the House, of sitting down to deliver portions of his harangue. It was not a day when his genius thundered—and it needed thunder, as Walpole said, to blast such a treaty. After listening to one more speech Pitt left without voting, as Fox rose to answer him. When he appeared outside he was received with huzzas by the waiting crowd, who shouted 'Three hours and a half! Three hours and a half!' in admiration of their hero. But within doors his opinion had no effect on Fox's well-paid mercenaries[2]: Fox himself had little to do but chant a *Te Deum* for victory; and, in a House of three hundred and eighty-four, only sixty-five members endorsed by their votes Pitt's disapproval of the Preliminaries.[3]

[1] See note at the end of this chapter on Pitt's proneness to indulge in turgid phrases when he was not speaking at his best.

[2] Nivernois, writing to Praslin of Pitt's speech, says, 'Comme il n'a fait aucune impression, ce n'est pas la peine de détailler celle qu'il avait envie de faire.'

[3] Clive and Beckford were included in the minority of 65.

Note on Pitt's Speech of December 9, 1762.

In his great speeches Pitt was always clear and direct, but sometimes, when he was not at his best, he lapsed into the fault of turgid and involved utterance, which is often apparent in his correspondence. The phrase about Russia in the speech of December 9, 1762 (quoted on p. 147), is an instance of this fault: other instances are quoted in *The Trial of England's Cicero* (1767). Speaking once about commerce, he compared it to 'the sensitive plant, and circulating notes to its spreading leaves; whenever they are closely approached to, or, in vulgar phrase, enforced on, then they, recoiling, shrink in upon, to the destruction of, the parent stalk.' In his speech of December 9 Pitt seems to have laid himself open to much ridicule for this failing, to judge from the following description of the scene in the House on that occasion. It was, of course, written

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by an enemy, but contains a substratum of truth. Lady Chatham is represented as giving an account of her husband's entry and of his speech :—

The very *doorkeepers it touches*
To see him tottering on *crutches.*
In them a *double* virtue lies;
They raise *compassion*—and a noise.

. . . . . .

The groundlings cry alas! poor man!
How ill he is! how pale! how wan!
Yet such his love for us and strife
He'd rather run the risque of life
Than leave the *Bleeding Land* a prey
To *B–te, Peace,* and *Economy!*

. . . . . .

At length he tries to rise, a hum
Of approbation fills the room.
He bows and tries again; but, no,
He finds that standing will not do,
And therefore to complete the farce
The House cries, hear him on his a–se!
He bows again, and then commences
To broach his ill-drawn inferences,
Talks incoherently of peace,
And inadmissibilities,
Makes use of none but polysyllables
Which he in speaking deems infallibles.

. . . . . .

He may break off by grief o'ercome,
And grow pathetically dumb!

. . . . . .

This raises pity, makes a pause,
And gives an opening for applause;
He next may *swoon* and shut his eyes;
A cordial, else the patriot dies!
The cordial comes, he takes it off,
He lives, he lives! I hear him cough.

. . . . . .

He is not used to be thus mov'd
But for his country so *Belov'd,*
His *Bleeding Country!* Who can bear
To think of ending such a war?
Thus pause, swoon, cordial, all combine
To forward patriot's design.

The Rodondo: or, the State Jugglers, by H. Dalrymple.

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CHAPTER XX

PITT UNCONNECTED

Have ye seen when Spring's arrowy summons goes right to the aim,
And some mountain, the last to withstand her, that held (he alone,
While the vale laughed in freedom and flowers) on a broad bust of stone
A year's snow bound about for a breast plate—leaves grasp of the sheet?
Fold on fold all at once it crowds thunderously down to his feet,
And there fronts you, stark, black, but alive yet, your mountain of old.
R. Browning, *Saul*.

When the Princess of Wales heard of the majority for the Preliminaries, she exclaimed, 'Now my son is King of England!' Fox was careful to complete the victory over the Whigs with his 'rougher hand.' Their great Lords, Newcastle, Grafton and Rockingham, were dismissed from their lord-lieutenancies, and within less than a year over a hundred of their peers and members of Parliament had been driven from office.[1] This holocaust of the great was not enough for Fox: even the humblest were to be taught that henceforward the only channel of honour and profit was implicit subservience to the new King's party. Tide-waiters, riding-officers, and all the other small custom-house officials, especially in Newcastle's county of Sussex, were ruthlessly turned out of posts on which they depended for a livelihood. It was, as Fox said, a general rout of the Whigs; there had been no such proscription, it was said, since the days of Sulla. The poor duke felt his world tumbling about his ears, but, nothing daunted, set to work re-forming his party to storm once more the citadel of patronage and profit. He and his friends sincerely believed

[1] Newcastle compiled the list himself (*Add. MSS.* 32850, f. 270).

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the well-being of the country to be bound up with their own monopoly of power, and Fox's proscription an outrageous attempt 'to debase and vilify . . . US . . . the natural aristocracy of the country.'[1]

The King had routed the oligarchy and by Fox's help had formed the nucleus of a party of 'King's Friends' to replace the standing Whig majority in Parliament; but he sucked no sweetness from his victory, for it was many years before he had a minister to his mind. Bute was too inexperienced and too intensely hated as a Scotsman and a favourite to be of much use to his royal pupil, and on April 8, 1763, soon after the ratification of the Treaty of Paris, he resigned, to the astonishment of all save Pitt, who drily remarked that Lord Bute's undertaking seemed to him the matter of astonishment, not his departing from it. His successor Grenville was impeccable, but a pedant and a bad administrator; Grenville's principal colleague, Bedford, was overbearing and offensive. For two years George III endured the wearisome harangues of the one[2] and the insolent brow-beating of the other; the more he attempted to throw off his chains, the more closely were they riveted on him. In driving out the Whigs George III had exchanged whips for scorpions. This was no position for a patriot king who expected to have a minister submissive to his will as well as a majority in the House looking for orders to St. James's.

In their difficulties both the Whigs and the King turned for help to Pitt. Newcastle, forgetting that he had betrayed him to Bute, had hardly been out of office a month when he decided that 'nothing right for the public or ourselves can be done but in concert with Mr. Pitt.' Cumberland, now the mentor of the Whigs, declared after a talk with him, 'This is the man.' The question was how to get hold of him. 'He is very delicate,' wrote Newcastle, 'very nice, and I should not be surprised if he has made a plan for himself to let things run on, the ministers

[1] These are not actually Newcastle's words, but were used thirty years later by the Duke of Portland, who inherited the Whig traditions of Newcastle and his school. (*Windham Papers*, Portland to Windham, January 1794.)

[2] Once George III ventured to bow Grenville out after an harangue of only twenty minutes.

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destroy themselves, and he once more come in unconnected to save this poor country.' At any rate Pitt had no intention of fighting to recover the spoils of office for the old Whig faction, and would certainly not have agreed with Gladstone that the proper business of an opposition is to oppose indiscriminately. He told Cumberland that, much as he objected to Bute's transcendency of power, he objected equally to Newcastle's, and was determined 'to have regard to a set of gentlemen who are called Tories and had acted with him upon Revolution principles and had supported his administration'; to all who came from Newcastle to sound him he refused to identify himself with the Whigs, though he said he would act with them on all great national and constitutional questions.[1] The distinction between Pitt and the Whigs was accurately defined by Rigby: 'Pitt confined himself to measures, and their thoughts are all about men.' The King for his part also felt that his safest way of escape from Grenville was through Pitt, and he made three advances to him in as many years. Pitt had every sympathy with the King's desire to avoid a party administration, and was always more disposed to listen to his overtures than to Newcastle's, for one of his main principles was that the King's government must be carried on. 'True political moderation,' he once wrote, 'consists in not opposing the measures of government except when great and national objects are at stake: to oppose upon any other foot is certainly faction. But,' he added, 'it is likewise faction of the worst kind not to oppose at all, when points of the greatest [importance are at stake]'; and he was twice prevented from accepting office because he and the King were unable to agree about measures. Pitt indeed had a difficult choice between the King, whose system of government seemed to him open to least objection, and the Whigs, with whom he was more often in harmony on great national and constitutional questions. But to both King and Whigs he made it plain, in submissive phrases to the one, in more cavalier fashion to the others, that he would not take office again without supreme command:

[1] See *Add. MSS.* 32945, ff. 83, 362; *ibid.* 32947, f. 21; and *Bedford Corr.* iii, 162.

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he did not lightly forget his differences with George III in the last months of his ministry, or the Whigs' desertion of him on the Peace of Paris. With increasing age and illness he was inclined to brood over past wrongs, to become more suspicious of advances made to him, and almost as intolerant of contradiction as old Diamond Pitt.

Early in 1763 he bore testimony to his independence of the Whig Opposition. Against their views and even those of Temple, who feared 'an extensive plan of power and military influence' in the Ministry's army estimates,[1] he supported the proposed establishment, complaining only that it might have been larger, since the Peace of Paris could at best be called an armed truce for ten years; he also insisted that the half-pay officers, who had fought in his war, should not be superseded by men with later commissions.[2] But the budget aroused him to opposition. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Francis Dashwood, a dissolute scapegrace, who 'from puzzling all his life at tavern bills, had been called by Lord Bute to administer the finances of a kingdom above one hundred millions in debt,'[3] proposed to levy a new excise duty on all cider brewed for home consumption; excise officers were to visit private houses in the cider-country, and all offences under the law were to be tried by commissioners of excise instead of by a jury. The day after he had explained this project Temple came in hot haste to tell Newcastle that the cider tax had brought about the union with Pitt which they had long been trying to compass. The Whigs saw in this unpopular proposal a good opening for attack on the Ministry; Pitt opposed

March 4, 7, 1763.

[1] 18,000 men for the English establishment; 12,000 men for the Irish establishment; 10,000 men for the American establishment.

[2] In this debate he reprimanded the Speaker for allowing the King's name to be too frequently sounded.

[3] Dashwood did not lack courage. He alone had ventured to stand up for the Byng court-martial's plea for delay in 1757 (vol. i, p. 309), and he was praised by Pitt in a speech of January 14, 1766, for having been the only man who had dared to oppose his German war from the first. Pitt then regretted that he had been turned out, adding: 'he is one of the first persons I would have endeavoured to keep in, for no other reason but because he had differed from me.' According to Walpole he was the only man who called to inquire how Chatham did after his seizure in the House of Lords in 1778.

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it for the inroad it made on two of the Englishman's most cherished privileges—trial by jury and the right to regard his house as his castle; 'the excise,' he said, 'should never be allowed to extend to visiting private houses.'[1] The alliance thus brought about was cemented by a great dinner at Devonshire House attended by Pitt and the Whig magnates. In the House of Commons Pitt led the opposition with his old spirit. Dashwood could be ignored, but Grenville, who had dared to find preferment in a ministry quitted by Pitt, endured the full force of his brother-in-law's terrible sarcasm. Grenville began by attacking Pitt's extravagant finance, and then, after descanting on the need for fresh sources of supply, asked honourable gentlemen opposite to say *where* they would have a new tax laid: 'I say, Sir, let them tell me *where*! I repeat it, Sir, I am entitled to say to them, tell me where!' Whereupon Pitt, fixing his eye contemptuously on Grenville and mimicking his languid and querulous voice, hummed a then popular ditty:

March 27, 1763.

'Gentle shepherd, tell me where,'

to the delight of the House and the discomfiture of Grenville, who long kept the nickname Gentle Shepherd. He then rose to lash Grenville with ridicule and to prophesy to the Tories who were supporting him that the time would come when they would return to their old allegiance to himself. When Grenville, in a white heat of anger, sprang up to answer, Pitt, who was walking out of the House, turned on him with a low contemptuous bow and departed.

The first approach to Pitt from the Court was made by Bute shortly before his own resignation on April 8, 1763.[2] Pitt, who wrote moodily to Newcastle that 'the system held forth with regard to finances since the fatal peace is almost as ruinous as the peace itself,' answered Bute that 'he would never have anything to do with his lordship; that he was now thoroughly connected with the Duke of Newcastle and his

[1] *Add. MSS.* 32747, f. 317.

[2] Rockingham, *Memoirs*, i, 169. The reason for Bute's desire to gain Pitt's support for his ministry was given in a letter to Bedford, in which he wrote of 'names like a *Pitt* or a *Legge* that impose on an ignorant populace.' (*Bedford Corr.* iii, 225.)

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friends and was determined to remain so.' But though the Whigs had every interest in the new union with Pitt they took little trouble to retain him. Their leading peers offended him grievously by neglecting to support Temple's protest against the cider tax in the House of Lords, and the personal ambitions of some of the younger men of the party were a serious stumbling-block. Typical of these younger men were Charles Yorke, Hardwicke's second son, and Charles Townshend, Newcastle's nephew. Yorke was then Attorney-General and had one ambition, to obtain the Great Seal. Torn between anxiety not to prejudice his chances of this great office with the Court, and a desire to uphold the old Whig principles inherited from his father, he passed the last seven years of his life in a vain attempt to reconcile the two. One of the fundamental ideas of Newcastle's policy was to secure the Great Seal for the son of his old friend, whatever line he might take on politics. Charles Townshend, 'the most brilliant man,' said Burke, 'of his or any age,' had none of Yorke's indecision in the pursuit of his own advancement. He told Devonshire unblushingly 'that he was a younger brother, and if nothing was to be made out of opposition or no active measures pursued he would . . . consider himself at liberty to take what part would be most convenient to him.' He had the wit to see that 'the wings of the Whigs' popularity rested on Mr. Pitt's shoulders,' but he also thought it discreet to pay his court to Grenville by flattery of his 'zeal and ability.'

Matters were in this state between the Whigs and Pitt when the affair of *The North Briton* brought to a head the differences between a party chiefly anxious for place and a man solely concerned with national objects. *The North Briton* was a newspaper written by John Wilkes, member for Aylesbury, a man of loose character, but clever, impudent, and fearless, and far wittier than Bute's hirelings in *The Auditor* and *The Briton*. For a year its abuse had been levelled at the Peace of Paris and at Bute and the Scotch generally; but No. 45, published on April 23, 1763, contained a violent attack on the King's Speech, in the guise of a lament that 'a prince of so many great and amiable virtues, whom England

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truly reveres, can be brought to give the sanction of his sacred name to the most odious measures, and to the most unjustifiable public declarations from a throne ever renowned for truth, honour, and unsullied virtue.' The attack was ingenious, covered as it was by the constitutional doctrine that the King only uttered words put into his mouth by ministers, but the insult was none the less patent. The King forthwith ordered the Secretary of State to prosecute the writer, whose name was then unknown. After consulting the Attorney-General, Charles Yorke, Halifax issued a general warrant against persons unnamed and also gave the King's messengers authority to search for the authors, printers, and publishers of *The North Briton*, arrest them, and seize their papers.[1] In the course of three days forty-nine persons were arrested under this warrant, and Wilkes himself, though pleading privilege of Parliament, was lodged in the Tower. On an application for Habeas Corpus he was brought before Pitt's friend Pratt, then Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who laid it down that parliamentary privilege absolved members from arrest except in cases of treason, felony, or breach of the peace, and, on the ground that Wilkes's offence did not come under these exceptions, ordered his release. Wilkes was received with huzzas by the mob, who now first learned the cry, 'Wilkes and Liberty,' destined to be well dinned into the King for the next seven years. Actions for damages were thereupon brought by various printers against the King's messengers for unlawful arrest, and on Pratt's ruling that general warrants were illegal, the printers were awarded heavy damages; Wilkes himself also won an action against the under-secretary for ransacking his house under the search-warrant.

Pitt, in his distant way, had once been on friendly terms with Wilkes,[2] but he had the utmost abhorrence of *The North Briton's* scurrilous attacks upon the Scotch, and of its insult to the King. Writing to a correspondent who asked him his

[1] Hardwicke, to whom Charles Yorke sent a copy of his opinion, thought it ill-judged: but it had then been acted upon.

[2] See Wilkes's own account of their intercourse in *The North Briton*, No 31, quoted in vol. i, p. 201.

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opinion of the paper, he replied that he was not amused by such libels, which had always seemed to him pernicious,[1] and to a foolish clergyman who a year later proposed to revive this style of political warfare, 'I have ever abhorred such odious and dangerous writing, and in the late unhappy instance of *The North Briton* no man concurred more heartily than I did in condemning and branding so licentious and criminal a paper.' But, much as he abhorred *The North Briton*, he abhorred still more attacks upon the liberty of the press and of the subject. When Bishop Warburton advocated suppressing the abuses of the press by legislation he told him his proposal was 'big with danger . . . and one that must revolt every friend to liberty'; and, as a great Commons man, he was especially shocked at the breach of privilege involved in Wilkes's arrest. On the illegality of general warrants he was at first not so clear. When Secretary of State he had himself issued three in cases of emergency arising from the state of war.[2] But his doubts were finally resolved by Pratt, whom he now consulted. Pratt's answer is an illuminating statement of the English law on the subject and evidently formed the groundwork of all the arguments Pitt used in this long controversy. A secretary of state, said Pratt, has no more power to issue general warrants than any other magistrate, 'there being no difference between state crimes and other crimes; they are all to be prosecuted, judged and punished by the same common and equal law,' for the law books admit no such thing as the French 'Reason of State.' Pitt's own general warrants could only be classed 'among those cases that ought to remain always doubtful and never be too much scanned or defined. It is like pressing . . . when the public safety requires something more than legal authority to rouse the magistrate to action.' The pretended right of seizing papers

[1] *Chatham MSS.* 6 (draft to Colonel de Champigny).

[2] One of the three people arrested under a general warrant from Pitt was the Comte de St. Germain, an adventurer of the same type as Casanova, who interfered in the negotiation between Yorke and d'Affry in 1760, and then came over to England as a spy for 'Le Secret du Roi.' He lodged in St. Mary Axe, whence in June 1760 he was brought before Mr. Pitt and expelled the country. (*Gray's Letters* (Tovey) ii, 144.)

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was equally 'contrary to the genius of the law, which only invites evidence and never forces it, . . . and . . . where the laws are silent the subject's person and property must be free.'[1]

This exposition of the law, so entirely in accord with his own ideas of justice and liberty, was adopted enthusiastically by Pitt. He felt that a stand for the principles there enunciated must be made at the earliest opportunity against the ministers' insolent attacks on the privilege of the House and the liberty of the subject. During the summer and autumn of 1763 he was unusually active in attempting to bring the Whigs over to his view; for, when it had become a question of measures, the advances came from his side. A definite agreement on policy seemed to him all the more necessary since there were rumours at Court of a change of ministry. For union at this crisis he was willing to allow Yorke's claims to the Great Seal, if Pratt's conspicuous service to liberty were rewarded by some special mark of distinction, such as a peerage and admission to Cabinet rank. But the Whigs were only lukewarm in a cause which seemed to Pitt of transcendent importance. He found Yorke expecting the Chancellorship as his right, but cold to his suggestion about Pratt, and he parted from him angrily, with a warning that the Wilkes affair could not be allowed to rest where it was without a full discussion in Parliament.[2] Two months later he had some long and unsatisfactory interviews with Newcastle, in which he threshed out every pressing question of policy and the terms on which he would act with the Whigs. These interviews took place on August 9, 1763, at Lord Lincoln's house, Oatlands, and on the 11th at Claremont, the Duke of Newcastle's, where he went to stay with Temple and James Grenville.[3] The business was not all of a serious nature. At the sumptuous

[1] *Chatham MSS.* 25. There is also a considerable amount of information from Pratt and others on this question collected in *Chatham MSS.* 74.

[2] Yorke himself brought up the Wilkes question, which Pitt had avoided out of delicacy to the servant of the Crown who advised Halifax. See Harris, *Hardwicke*, iii, 360.

[3] The proceedings are described in a letter of sixty pages from Newcastle to the Duke of Devonshire. (*Add. MSS.* 32950, f. 65.)

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banquets, which brought the whole party together, the conversation took a light turn, and Pitt was pleasantly bantered by Newcastle for his loyalty to the Tories, 'who have all deserted you now.' Occasionally, too, Temple would get hold of Newcastle quietly in a corner to pour out his particular grievances, hinting at his own aspiration to be leader of the minority,[1] and declaring that he would never again accept the office of Privy Seal, where he had no status and no importance, but was simply 'dragged at Mr. Pitt's tail.'

In his private conferences with the duke Pitt made it clear that if the Whigs wished him to act with them they must show that they cared more for measures than men, and had at heart 'the constitution and the liberty of the subject,' his definition of the substance of Whiggism.

> I know [he said, speaking of the Wilkes case] what liberty is and that the liberty of the press is essentially concerned in this question. I disapprove of all these sort of papers, *The North Briton*, etc.; but that is not the question. When the privileges of the Houses of Parliament are denied in order to deter people from giving their opinions, the liberty of the press is taken away. Whigs, who would give up these points to humour the Court and extend the power of the Crown, to the diminution of the Liberty of the subject, I should never call Whigs; . . . and I should never agree to act with anybody upon that foot.

He insisted that at the next change of ministry Pratt should have a peerage as a mark of approval of his attitude and be admitted to the Cabinet to give advice on points of law: 'for,' said he, 'if I am so necessary, as you all tell me, why should there be any difficulty in giving me proper support in the formation of a ministry?' He foresaw difficulties in foreign policy with a party less convinced than he that the late peace was 'more fatal than that of Utrecht,' a party that had actually chosen a time when any trivial dispute in the East or West Indies might light up another war, and when England's old ally, Savoy, was deserting her for the Bourbons,

[1] This ambition of Temple appears plainly in the *History of the Late Minority* (1766), where he is spoken of as 'leader' of the minority. Temple denied that he had a hand in this production, but it is obviously written in his interest.

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to propose a reduction of military establishments.[1] He even suspected the Whigs' new counsellor, Cumberland, of an unholy leaning to an Austrian alliance, whereas 'departing from the alliance with the King of Prussia, Russia and the Protestant princes of Germany was what he, for his part, could never agree to.' Ireland and America too presented difficulties, for both were in a state of ferment—Ireland with 'Whiteboys' and other moonlighting bands,[2] America from the ravages of the Indian chief Pontiac and his savages. Pitt, true to the policy of conciliation to both countries, which he had adopted in his own ministry, distrusted the policy already inaugurated by Grenville and Charles Townshend,[3] of stricter financial measures and acts of repression against malcontents, and feared he should not carry the Whigs with him in his dislike of harsh methods, which, he told Newcastle, 'would not be proper to obtain the view proposed, viz. the quieting of the insurrections in Ireland and the settlement of our colonies upon a proper foot with regard to themselves and their mother-country.'

Newcastle, to whom questions of high policy seemed singularly unimportant compared with the momentous issues of supremacy for the Whigs and the Great Seal for Charles Yorke, fobbed Pitt off with vague assurances of agreement and with a friendly letter from Cumberland, heartily approving of Pratt's judgments on privilege and general warrants. Pitt was only partially comforted by the duke's genial optimism, for he was beginning to feel that the whole world was against him. Even Temple, his old friend, was becoming jealous, and his constituency Bath, once so devoted, had passed a fulsome address in praise of the peace, and had deeply insulted him by asking him to present it to the King. 'I am but ill qualified,' he wrote to Allen, 'to form pretensions to the future favour of gentlemen who are come to think

[1] See above, p. 153.

[2] Lord Grandison still kept his nephew informed of the state of Ireland. Only a few days previously Pitt had received a letter from him describing the Bishop of Clogher's panic-stricken flight to Dublin 'by a private way,' and Grandison's own belief that the rioters intended 'laying aside the present laws and have a new sett of their own.' (*Chatham MSS.* 33.)

[3] Townshend was First Lord of Trade for a short time in 1763.

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so differently from me on matters of highest importance to the national welfare.' He took the gloomiest view of the nation's future, and, though he resolved to work with the Whigs, felt small confidence in his ability to accomplish much with these weak-kneed supporters. 'Providence might save us,' he concluded sorrowfully.

While Pitt was thus cast down the King himself turned towards him. The violent and ill-considered proceedings against Wilkes had brought to a head the discontent arising from Pitt's fall, the Peace of Paris, Bute's unpopularity and the cider tax; and the ministers seemed incompetent to deal with the riots in London and the western counties. Lord Egremont's sudden death on August 21 gave Bute and the King the excuse they wanted for forming a more agreeable and capable ministry. Bedford himself, on a false report that Pitt no longer objected to him as the chief author of the peace,[1] urged the King to sound Pitt. Two days after Egremont's death Beckford came to Hayes with a message from Bute asking Pitt to meet him. Pitt at first demurred, but consented on learning that it was the King's wish. On Thursday, August 25, 1763, he met Bute in town and made no concealment of his views. On the Saturday he was summoned by the King to the Queen's House. While he was inside, George Grenville came up to find Pitt's servants waiting at the door with their master's gouty chair, easily to be recognised by the huge leg-rest protruding from the front. Grenville was much perturbed at the sight, especially as he had lately been assured by the King that Pitt should never return to the Ministry. Meanwhile the King was amicably listening to Pitt's terms for taking office. Pitt asked for a northern alliance as a counterstroke to the Family Compact, and to this the King seemed disposed to agree.[2] He was less

[1] Calcraft went to see Pitt at Hayes and was explicitly told that he would not act with Bedford because of Bedford's share in the peace. Calcraft's report became garbled on its way to Bedford and produced on him exactly the opposite impression. (*Add. MSS.* 32951, f. 192, and Fitzmaurice, *Shelburne*, i, 201.)

[2] So Pitt told the Prussian envoy in November. (See Michel's letter in the Prussian archives, *Rep.*—96 *Gross-B.* 33H.)

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cordial when Pitt suggested the substitution of the Duke of Cumberland as friend and confidant instead of the unpopular Bute, but made no objection to Pitt's recommendation that the Whigs driven out of lord-lieutenancies and some other offices should be restored. When asked about the composition of the Ministry Pitt was loyal to his alliance with the Newcastle Whigs: he must, he said, have the assistance of those who 'themselves and their families had been the declared friends and supports of His Majesty's royal family and the happy revolution': and Pratt was to supersede Mansfield as legal adviser to the Cabinet. But he asked for no proscription of the Tories and only excepted from consideration for office Bedford and other immediate authors of the peace which, he told the King, left the country 'to fear everything and obtain but little.' 'There is pen, ink and paper,' said the King: 'make out a list of your administration at once.' But, though Pitt showed the utmost deference to the royal wishes and insisted on standing during the whole interview as a mark of respect, he refused to commit himself to any names, even to Lord Temple's as First Lord, without first consulting his friends. He left the King on the understanding that he should return on the Monday, and convinced that his ideas were assented to.

On the Sunday Pitt went down to Claremont to tell Newcastle of all that had occurred, and sent for other prominent Whigs to meet him and discuss plans,[1] but that night he received a private note through Shelburne to say that 'it would not do.' Pitt's stipulations had become known to Bute's friends Oswald and Elliot: they were afraid that Bute's work would be undone by a ministry under Pitt composed chiefly of Whigs, and on the Sunday frightened Bute into imparting their fears to the King. On the Monday morning, when Pitt returned, the King's attitude

[1] In *Chatham MSS.* 74 is a rough sketch of an administration obviously made by Pitt either immediately before or after this interview. Hardwicke, Newcastle and Devonshire are included, also Rockingham (Admiralty), Legge (Exchequer), Pratt (Privy Seal), Charles Townshend (Secretary of State). The Northern Secretary's name is left blank, no doubt for Pitt himself. There is a slightly different list in *Grenville Papers*, ii, 198.

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had entirely changed. He found fault with proposals that he had accepted without demur on the Saturday, and talked of his honour, finally closing the interview with the words, 'Well, Mr. Pitt, I see this won't do. My honour is concerned and I must support it.' Pitt, bowing low, answered, 'Sir, the House of Commons will not force me upon your Majesty, and I will never come into your service against your consent.'[1] Pitt himself never understood upon what point this negotiation had been broken off—'rather thought upon the whole *en gros*; but if the King should assign any reason for its breaking off he would never contradict that.' The King and Bute showed less delicacy. They soon let it be known who were the men that Pitt had proposed to exclude—'which it is thought will breed dissension.'[2] This failure threw Pitt once more into the depths of despair.

> The country [he lamented a week later] is lost beyond the possibility of being restored; the moment now thrown away, was in my judgment the last which offered the smallest gleam of hope. May it never be my fate again to hear anything of taking a share in the affairs of a country devoted to confusion and ruin.[3]

Pitt had cause for dissatisfaction with the King, but he showed no bitterness: his anger was reserved for the Whigs who did not support him on the Wilkes affair. In the debate on the Address he treated the ministers gently and the King with all duty and affection; and, referring to the exaggerated rumours spread about his interviews with the King, said that he had never excommunicated Tories or peacemakers and was against party names: the only thing that would throw him back into party would be dissension on principles. Lord Barrington said this speech was worth £50,000 to the Ministry; November 16, 1763.

[1] *The Border Elliots*, p. 377.

[2] *Caldwell Papers*, ii, 191.

[3] *Add. MSS.* 32951, f. 7. In a draft letter to the Duke of Devonshire, in which Pitt talks of himself as 'a man in a village,' he takes the same desponding view (*Chatham MSS.* 6). There are many accounts of this negotiation with the King. Pitt's own is in 32951, ff. 192 and 301. An interesting account, derived from the Duke of Devonshire through the Archbishop of York, is reported by T. Robinson in his Memoranda (*Wrest Park MSS.*). See also *Add. MSS.* 34713, f. 277, quoted by Winstanley, *Personal and Party Government*, and the Memoirs and Correspondence of the period.

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the Whigs were not so pleased, but they had brought it upon themselves. In spite of Pitt's loyalty to them in August they had made no preparation to support the great cause of liberty he had at heart,[1] and he may have intended his speech of November 16 as a lesson to them for their apathy on the previous day. On that day he had been left to fight almost alone, when Wilkes complained of his arrest as a breach of the privileges of the House. Among those whom he had scornfully termed 'fools of form' for hunting up musty precedents to justify a postponement of Wilkes's complaint, he had noted Charles Yorke, the unworthy favourite of the Whigs. But, whether supported or not, Pitt spoke with no uncertain voice on this question. On the Ministry's motion that '*The North Briton*, No. 45, was a scandalous and seditious libel . . . tending . . . to excite the people to traitorous insurrections against His Majesty's Government,' he urged that a law court, not the House of Commons, was the proper place to try a libel, and protested vehemently against the word 'traitorous' as an attempt to upset by a side-wind the plea of privilege.[2] The Ministry then moved that the privileges of freedom from arrest did not extend to cases of libel, and for two days Pitt fought passionately for the ancient rights of the House of Commons. At the outset he made it plain that he was speaking from no love of the libel or the libeller, professing his abhorrence of Wilkes's national reflections on the Scotch—for the King's subjects were one people and whoever attempted to divide them was guilty of sedition,—and condemning the whole series of *The North Briton* as illiberal, unmanly and detestable, and their author as the blasphemer of his God[3] and the libeller of his king. But that was no reason, he continued, for the House of Commons to abandon its privileges and put

November 15, 1763.

November 23, 24, 1763.

[1] See *Chatham Corr.* ii, 260. In the *History of the Late Minority* it is stated, as if it were something to be proud of, that at the meetings of the Albemarle Street Club, set up in opposition to the Tory Cocoa Tree, the Whig lords discussed union (i.e. places) but never politics.

[2] For privilege admittedly did not extend to cases of treason.

[3] This was in reference to Wilkes's obscene and blasphemous *Essay on Woman*, which had been recently unearthed by Wilkes's former boon companion, Lord Sandwich (Jemmy Twitcher).

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every member who did not vote with the minister under a perpetual terror of imprisonment: such a sacrifice was not consistent either with the honour and safety of Parliament or with the rights of the people.

The House, ignoring this appeal, cheerfully voted away its own privilege and ordered the common hangman to burn *The North Briton*. The ministers, flushed with victory, took vengeance on Conway and other officers who had voted against them by taking away their commissions. In January 1764 the minority against expelling Wilkes unheard from the House of Commons did not rise above seventy. Pitt had satisfied no party by his courageous condemnation alike of the libels and of the methods used to suppress them. Wilkes, already redoubtable for his influence in the City, never forgave Pitt's contemptuous treatment of him, and Temple, who rather enjoyed Wilkes's scurrility, was also displeased. On the other hand, many of the Whigs, led by Charles Yorke and Charles Townshend, voted for the Government and against Pitt. Disgust at Wilkes's writings, and alarm at the riotous mobs he encouraged, blinded many to the greater danger of the Ministry's arbitrary proceedings. The acquiescence of respectable people in injustice, when its victim is a reprobate or a nuisance, has often made easy the first inroads on the common liberty of a whole nation. Fortunately Pitt saw the danger in this instance and, in spite of temporary rebuffs, averted it.

In February 1764 Pitt, who had been too ill to appear in January, returned to the House. Wilkes having been silenced for the time, the constitutional questions involved could then be considered with less prejudice; and Pitt's appearance acted like magic in reuniting and fortifying all those who had a spark of love for liberty. He communicated his enthusiasm to the volatile Charles Townshend, the balancing Yorke, and even to the sinister Sackville. Barré, who had been deprived of his commission for voting against the Ministry, made apology to Pitt for his past conduct and henceforth became his most faithful follower. For the moment the personal jealousies and ambitions of the Opposition gave place to something of Pitt's generous enthusiasm for a principle. For three nights

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February 13, 14, 17, 1764.

in February the House debated the question of the legality of general warrants till the early hours of the morning. Though tortured with gout and often obliged to leave the House for a rest, Pitt dominated the proceedings. He resisted motions for adjournment, 'until they knew whether they had a constitution or not.' Speaking often and long, as was his wont when deeply moved, he cheered on his forces by the vigour of his attacks on Grenville and other supporters of prerogative, and by the vigilance with which he pounced upon the bullying attempts of the Crown lawyers to evade the issue.[1] 'My own first wish,' he said, 'was to crush foreign enemies; now I have come to crush domestic enemies.' He told his old under-secretary, Wood, who had acted on these warrants, that if he were content merely to be excused for an arbitrary stretch of authority he deserved to be severely censured. 'Do not cut and shuffle with our liberties by an epithet,' he exclaimed at one insidious amendment; 'we have seen the day when an epithet would defeat Magna Charta.' 'General warrants,' he boldly asserted, 'are always wrong'; even his own general warrants against spies escaping from the kingdom in time of war could only be justified on the plea of extraordinary necessity. Could any such plea be for a moment upheld in an ordinary case of libel, where the authors could easily be ascertained? The Whig forces rallied so well to his inspiring leadership that in one division the Government majority was reduced to ten. The last division was not taken until seven o'clock on the morning of the 18th, when ministers only avoided a direct condemnation of general warrants by postponing the decision for four months.

Such a minority [exultingly wrote Newcastle, after it was all over], with such a leader, composed of gentlemen of the greatest and most independent fortunes in the kingdom, against a majority of fourteen only, influenced by power and force and fetched from all corners of the kingdom, must have its weight and produce the most happy consequence to the kingdom.

[1] In this debate the Attorney-General, Sir Fletcher Norton, declared that a resolution of the House of Commons against general warrants would have no more weight with the courts than a resolution of a lot of drunken porters.

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But the effort was too much for Pitt, who took to his bed immediately afterwards and was unable to return to the House that session. He left with great hopes for the future and told Newcastle he would make no further difficulty about Yorke's claims, since he had at length shown himself sound on the crucial question.[1] Unfortunately this good spirit evaporated in his absence. The 'flying squadron,' who had rallied to his trumpet call, again wavered; the others quarrelled at the Albemarle Street Club as to what they should do—and did nothing; and personal interests once more became the first consideration. Instead of pursuing the advantage gained in the House, Townshend published a somewhat timid 'Defence of the Minority's' proceedings on the Wilkes affair and wasted his time at Cambridge over the election of High Steward, giving as his excuse that without the lustre of Mr. Pitt's presence no plan could be carried through. He was already angling for the Pay Office, which he obtained in May 1765. Charles Yorke was at his old game of balancing between Court favour and Whig sentiment, and ended by accepting the empty honour of a patent of precedence from the Crown. Pitt's absence from Parliament lasted beyond the session—for two years—partly from illness and partly from despair of effecting anything with such instruments. Two instances of Whig incapacity during this period are typical. Once more Grenville attacked Pitt's war and finance, but not a man of them stood up for him—an act of desertion which seemed unpardonable to Pitt, always apt during his illnesses to brood over and exaggerate offences. This decided him to break off all connection with the party, and when Newcastle consulted him in October 1764 on some questions of political tactics he answered:

> Having seen the close of last session and the system of that great war, in which my share of the ministry was so largely arraigned, given up *by silence* in a full House, I have little thoughts of beginning the world again upon a new centre of union. . . . As for *my single self* . . . as often as I think it worth the while to go to the House [I shall] go there *free from stipulations* . . . and whatever I think

[1] See Winstanley, *Personal and Party Government*, p. 200.

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it my duty to oppose, or to promote, I shall do it independent of the sentiments of others.

Worse negligence followed in February 1765, when Grenville brought in his resolutions to tax America. Pitt had already warned Newcastle of his views on this question,[1] and was only prevented by illness from appearing on this momentous occasion. 'I was ill in bed,' he told the House in the following session, 'but . . . if I could have endured to have been carried in my bed, so great was the agitation in my mind for the consequences, I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me on this floor to have borne my testimony against it.' In his absence hardly a voice was raised against Grenville's resolutions; 'the affair,' said Burke, 'passed with so very, very little noise, that in town they scarce knew the nature of what you were doing.' One member only, not an orthodox Whig, but now a personal follower of Pitt, spoke for the 'Sons of Liberty' beyond the seas. 'They planted by your care?' Barré retorted on Charles Townshend, who had thus described the colonists—

No, your oppressions planted them in America. They nourished up by your indulgence? They grew by your neglect. . . . They protected by your arms? They have nobly taken up arms in your defence, have exerted a valour amidst their constant and laborious industry for the defence of a country whose frontier was drenched with blood, while its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your emolument. . . .

Pitt was anxiously watching these events from his sick-bed. He took Rockingham to task, when he came on a visit, for the failure of his party to resist these American proposals,[2] but warmed to the spirit and tone of Barré's speech, so much in harmony with his own thoughts, and sent him a note of commendation.[3] He had now entirely given up the Whigs and

[1] See above, p. 160.

[2] Newcastle reports that the interview was 'disagreeable'; he evidently could not understand why Pitt thought such a matter important. See Winstanley, *Personal and Party Government*, p. 218.

[3] Fitzmaurice, *Shelburne*, i, 225.

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fixed all his hopes on a set of young politicians of whom Barré was one of the leaders. They met at Lord Shelburne's[1] house in Hill Street, and from them Pitt gained some of his most ardent supporters, especially on American policy. This 'little knot of young orators' included Barré, Dunning and Serjeant Glynn, Alderman Townshend and George Dempster. Besides these, Pratt, Lawrence Sulivan, of the East India Company, Francis, the father of 'Junius,' Lord Howe, Blackstone, Johnson, Goldsmith, Reynolds, and David Hume were also made welcome by Shelburne. Another frequent visitor was Calcraft, afterwards destined to play some part in Pitt's career.[2]

At the beginning of 1765 Pitt became a comparatively wealthy man by inheriting the estates of Sir William Pynsent, a Somersetshire knight, who died in January of that year. Pitt was exceptionally favoured by posthumous benefactions. Besides the Duchess of Marlborough's legacy, in 1764 he inherited £1000 from his old friend Ralph Allen of Bath; Lord Grandison appointed him his residuary legatee;[3] Algarotti bequeathed him some sumptuous designs; another friend, Thomas Hollis, was only prevented by sudden death from leaving him a fortune; and a certain John Woodrop offered to leave him his estates in Virginia.[4] But this legacy of Sir William Pynsent's was the strangest of all. Sir William was a man of eccentric, some said disreputable, habits, who had been a member of Queen Anne's last Parliament, and to the end of his life cherished the recollection of his vote against the 'inadequate' Treaty of Utrecht. The Treaty of Paris forty years later aroused all his dormant passions: on hearing that his distant connection, Lord North, had voted for this 'inadequate' peace he struck him out of his will, and in his place constituted as universal heir William Pitt, a man he had

[1] Shelburne had been First Lord of Trade in Grenville's ministry, but resigned in September 1763. He disagreed with his colleagues on the Wilkes affair and also on America, opposing the proposed settlement of Canada and the new western territories as well as Grenville's ideas of taxation. He also claimed more independence from the Secretary of State for his office.

[2] See below, p. 254.

[3] *Chatham MSS.* 33, Grandison to Pitt in 1761.

[4] *Ibid.* 68.

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never seen.[1] The validity of the will was disputed, and not finally decided in Pitt's favour for six years,[2] but he entered upon his inheritance forthwith. It consisted of real estate and personal property, worth between £3,000 and £4,000 a year, and a noble house and park at Burton Pynsent, three miles from the ancient town of Langport in Somersetshire. The house stands embowered in trees on the extreme edge of a high semi-circular plateau facing north. Here Pitt wrote of himself as 'well anchored on his hill at Burton in the middle of surrounding seas.'[3] From its windows he could see Sedgemoor lying in the basin between the Quantocks and Mendips, and the battlefield where Monmouth was defeated in his grandfather's lifetime; the church of Athelney, close to the farm where Alfred planned the deliverance of England from the foreign invader and burned the good-wife's cakes; and in the far distance the Bristol Channel with the Welsh hills beyond. It is a rich, sleepy country, good for tilth and pasture, where to this day the natives keep up ancient customs of loyalty to the Crown.[4] The house and country were well

[1] So says Lady Chatham in a letter preserved at Chevening Park. Dr. von Ruville, in his *Life of Chatham*, iii, 113–5, 133, makes a laborious attempt to show that Pitt angled for this legacy. He, however, produces no proof of a view, based simply on his own preconceived notion of Pitt's character, and has to invent a suggestion which is contrary to all the known facts, that Pitt knew beforehand of Pynsent's intention to leave him his property. Dr. von Ruville's treatment of this incident is characteristic of his whole method of blackening Pitt's character.

[2] The litigation entailed on Pitt by the Pynsent bequest is described in Brown's *Cases in Parliament*, vi, 450 *sqq.*, under the heading 'Tothill *v.* Pitt.' In 1750 one R. Tothill had bequeathed estates in Somersetshire and elsewhere to Sir William Pynsent's daughter, with remainder to William Daw, who was to take his surname. Miss Pynsent, being advised that she had estate tail in the property, bequeathed it to her father, Sir William, who inherited it on her death in 1757. This property formed the chief part of the legacy to Pitt. William Daw Tothill had allowed Sir William to enjoy it undisturbed, but disputed Pitt's claim. In June 1766, after a year's delay, the Master of the Rolls decided in favour of Pitt, whereupon Tothill wrote to say he would not appeal, and wished Pitt a long enjoyment of the property. In spite of this letter he appealed four years later to the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, who reversed the Master of the Rolls' decision. Finally, on appeal to the House of Lords, the original judgment was reinstated and Lord Chatham confirmed in his title on May 7, 1771.

[3] *Lansdowne House MSS.* P. 27.

[4] The old custom of decorating every house with oak leaves on May 29 was still observed at Langport in the year 1912.

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suited to a statesman weary with strife, and here Pitt thought to fix his abode. Within a year he had sold his beloved Hayes to Thomas Walpole, nephew of his old adversary Sir Robert, and began at once to build and improve at Burton Pynsent. His first care was to commission the celebrated landscape gardener, 'Capability Brown,' to erect upon the highest point of the amphitheatre, whereon the house stands, a lofty column, sacred to the memory of Sir William Pynsent and inscribed with the words:

Hoc saltem fungar inani
Munere.

Next, since perfect quiet had become a necessity to him, he built out a west wing containing his own library, with a view over Sedgemoor, and a 'bird room' for Lady Chatham, away from the children's quarters in the old main building.[1] He also planted trees, notably some fine cypresses and cedars, made roads towards Taunton and Langport and, to ensure privacy, sunk between deep banks a public way from Sedgemoor which cut through his estate. Nevertheless 'farming, hay-making, and all the Lethe of Somersetshire cannot,' he wrote, 'obliterate the memory of days of activity.'[2]

Two more years of Grenville's teasing rule passed before the King made another effort to shake it off. In the spring of 1765 Grenville and Bedford themselves provided him with an excuse. Their gratuitous insult to the King's mother in excluding her name from a Regency bill—an insult resented even by the House of Commons—and the serious riots of the Spitalfields weavers, directed chiefly against Bedford, convinced the King that they were not only disagreeable to himself but

[1] To-day the only part of Burton Pynsent left is the west wing built by Chatham. The main building, of which there is an illustration in Collinson's *Somersetshire*, was razed to the ground by the Pinney family, to whom the property was sold by the second Lord Chatham to pay his gambling debts, and its place is now occupied by a bowling-green. The younger Beckford says that the Pynsent column would also have been pulled down and sold for the materials, had not the neighbouring gentry subscribed its value to preserve it as a remembrance of the great Lord Chatham. (*New Monthly Magazine*, lxxi, 302.)

[2] Mahon, v, *Appendix*.

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incapable of doing anything good for the country. He put himself into the hands of the Duke of Cumberland, and asked him to make up a ministry in which Newcastle and Rockingham, as well as Pitt and Temple, should figure. Newcastle and Rockingham both told Cumberland that nothing could be done without Pitt. But Pitt was less forthcoming on this occasion than in 1763. He had some doubts of the King's sincerity after his experience in August of that year; for immediately after those interviews, when he thought he had made an impression on the King, he was assured by the Duke of Cumberland that he was the most obnoxious person at Court; [1] he had parted company with Newcastle and the other Whigs; and, as often happened with him after a serious illness, he was moody and despondent. When Cumberland's emissary, Lord Albemarle, came to Hayes on May 16, 1765, Pitt was in bed with gout and doubted whether he could take any active part in a ministry. Nevertheless he laid down clearly the conditions, on which alone he would even lend his countenance to one. These were:

1. That those who had lost their employment for their opinions in Parliament, especially officers, should be restored; and that promotion in the army and navy should go by merit instead of by 'dancing attendance';

2. That a counter-alliance should be formed to the House of Bourbon;

3. That the mind of the people should be finally put at ease on general warrants by a parliamentary decision of their illegality; that Pratt should be shown justice and favour; and that the cider tax should be repealed.

Pitt's hesitation was justified by the reception given to these conditions. Cumberland was not empowered to give any definite assurances about policy; he even doubted 'whether one could venture to trace exactly the law-boundaries of the King's prerogative or the privilege of his people' on the question of general warrants. Nor was he in a better position to answer Pitt when he had seen the King again. George III evidently hoped to replace Grenville and Bedford

[1] *Add. MSS.* 32952, f. 185.

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by a ministry that carried weight in the country, without committing himself to any change of policy: he did not even mean to allow Pitt much voice in choosing the administration, and intended to keep the First Lord of the Admiralty, Egmont, who was opposed to Pitt's idea of a northern alliance. But he was most anxious for Pitt's name to appear in the new administration and ordered his uncle to try the effect of personal persuasion. So, on Sunday, May 19, Cumberland travelled in state to Hayes with his escort of guards.[1] Pitt, who had Temple with him, was very polite but still very coy, and in spite of all entreaties definitely refused to take part in an administration, in the composition of which he would have hardly any voice and for the policy of which he could not answer. 'Nothing was conveyed,' he afterwards told James Grenville, 'that might have for object or end anything like my settling an administration upon my own plans; nor was there the least ground for me to rest a belief that such an administration was designed.' Unfortunately Pitt did not make his reason for refusing clear either to Cumberland or the Whigs. When he chose, no man could be more explicit and concise, but, when he was distrustful of the men with whom he was dealing, he wrapped up his meaning in a cloud of verbiage and minute distinctions which led to misunderstanding harmful to himself. Burke, writing to Flood about this negotiation expressed the common opinion that

> nothing but an intractable temper in your friend Pitt can prevent a most admirable and lasting system from being put together, and this crisis will show whether pride or patriotism be more predominant in his character . . . will he continue on his back talking fustian? . . . His gout is worse than ever; but his pride may disable him more than his gout.

Something of this obscurity was already apparent in 1754;[2]

[1] This journey inspired the caricature called 'The Courier.' The duke, very corpulent, is seen blowing a horn and galloping up to a shanty, from which protrudes a great gouty foot. Against the shanty are leaning two crutches, and, on a sign outside, a blown bladder with the legend 'Popularity the blown bladder by W. P.'

[2] See chap. viii.

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with age it became more characteristic; and much of the political industry of the next few years was devoted to attempts at interpreting Pitt's motives.[1]

On the day Cumberland was at Hayes the King told Grenville he hoped never to see his face again in the Closet, but next day had to throw himself back into his arms. Grenville and Bedford used their triumph unmercifully, and even forced the King to break his word and deprive Bute's brother, Mackenzie, of the Privy Seal for Scotland, promised him for life. A few more weeks of this treatment at last brought the King to see that all the concessions Pitt might ask on general warrants, foreign policy, and restitution of offices were a cheap price to pay for deliverance. Dispensing with intermediaries he summoned Pitt to his presence on Wednesday, July 19. This pleased Pitt at the outset, and was in accord with his idea of the proper relations between the King and his minister. At this interview and at another on Saturday the 22nd Pitt and George III came to a complete understanding. Pitt offered to reinstate Mackenzie and save the King's honour; George III on his side freely granted Pitt's three demands of May and made no objection to the further conditions that Grenville's American policy should be reversed, and that Temple should be First Lord of the Treasury. In a word Pitt felt, as he could not in May, 'that he carried the constitution with him to St. James's.'

When all the important points had been settled with the King an unexpected hitch occurred. For the success of his administration Pitt felt that he must have a spokesman in the House of Lords with authority to expound his views, and that for this purpose his brother-in-law Temple was indispens-

[1] There are accounts and surmises on this negotiation in all the contemporary memoirs and correspondence. The most interesting accounts are Cumberland's in *Rockingham Memoirs*, Newcastle's in *Narrative of Changes, &c.*, Pitt's in *Grafton Memoirs*, 79. Robinson (*Wrest Park MSS.*) gives some vivid touches. *The History of the Late Minority* and Winstanley's *Personal and Party Government* should also be consulted. Many commentators make a good deal of the King's original proposal that Bute's son-in-law, Northumberland, should go to the Treasury. But by this time Bute's power 'behind the curtain' was not what it was. Pitt did not attach much importance to the proposal, which was afterwards withdrawn.

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able. Pitt had become estranged from the Whigs and was resolved not to have Newcastle or Rockingham in that position to give that party colour to the Ministry, which he especially wished to avoid. His new friends Grafton and Shelburne were too young and inexperienced to be entrusted with the responsibility. But Temple had always been his faithful comrade in arms, and, in spite of slight differences on the Wilkes affair and some divergence of opinion, as yet barely hinted at, on America, Pitt had not long before publicly expressed his hope to live and die in alliance with Temple, to whom he once wrote:

> For we were bred upon the self-same hill,
> Fed the same flock, by fountain, shade and rill.[1]

Accordingly, on Monday the 23rd, Temple was summoned to Hayes and offered the post. To Pitt's dismay he absolutely refused it. He grounded his refusal partly on Pitt's weak state of health, which would disable him from frequent attendance in the House of Commons and throw all the burden of administration on his own shoulders, partly on the Bute bugbear, because Pitt allowed too many of the Scottish favourite's followers to remain in office, but chiefly on certain 'tender and delicate reasons,' which he kept locked up in his own breast. Temple had felt budding 'delicacies' in May, and during the intervening month had allowed them to blossom forth prodigiously. He had hinted at their nature to Newcastle two years before, when he intimated his unwillingness to be 'dragged at Mr. Pitt's tail';[2] since then they had been strengthened by his reconciliation with George Grenville, with whose American policy he was in complete accord, and to whom he now betrayed all his conversations with Pitt.[3] At first Pitt would not take his refusal. He appealed to Temple's patriotism, urged upon

[1] Pitt quoted these lines to Temple in the last year of his life.

[2] See above, p. 159.

[3] On May 30, shortly after their own reconciliation, Temple and Grenville came to a family dinner at Hayes. Pitt then told Grenville that on domestic topics their intercourse would, he hoped, be friendly, but in politics 'each had taken their separate walks and opinions.' Temple's, on the other hand, was as much a political as a personal alliance with Grenville.

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him that the honour and prosperity of the country depended on their union in administration, and continued his pleading far into the night. Next morning Onslow, who had been present at this painful interview, made another despairing appeal to Temple, begging him

> for the sake of the country, for the sake of us all . . . to take the burthen on your shoulders, especially when Mr. Pitt has acceded to take his share of it with you. Consider only the confusion it will create, consider the great *public* points, and which are nearest, to your heart, that will be gained by your acceptance and irrecoverably lost to this country by your refusal.[1]

But all was in vain: nothing would move Temple.

The King then pressed Pitt to accept office without Temple, but Pitt answered that it was impossible. His grief and mortification at this failure were apparent to the King and all who saw him. In despair the King called upon Cumberland to form the best ministry he could from the Whigs. Rockingham came to the Treasury, Newcastle took the Privy Seal, Walpole's friend Conway became Secretary of State, and Northington, the once 'unwilling Keeper' retained the Great Seal which he had never let go since 1757. It was a weak ministry, but there was little excuse for the want of generosity shown by Pitt to men who had stepped into the breach he was unable to fill. From his retirement at Bath came in turn expressions of approval and disapproval, clothed alike in words of oracular obscurity. Grafton joined the Ministry as second Secretary of State with his tacit approval, and two of his stout admirals, Keppel and Saunders, with his express sanction. In the early days of the Ministry he gave guarded praise to some of their measures, and told Saunders he might repeat it; 'then by God,' said the admiral, 'I will give it them for supper to-night at White's!' But against Newcastle all Pitt's animosity for the betrayal of 1761 and for the Whigs' apathy in neither defending the German War in 1764 nor resisting American taxation in 1765 seemed to revive. He took the most exaggerated view of the poor old duke's power, bemoaned

[1] *Grenville Papers*, iii, 63.

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his 'perplexing and irksome jealousies, which would cast a damp upon the vigour of every measure,' and said to a supporter 'I would not accede to his Grace's ministry or depart from principles and system of measures in which I have so often been sacrificed by the Duke of Newcastle.' Pitt's ill-humour was the more unreasonable because at first the new ministers were pathetically anxious to conciliate him. They made his friend Pratt a peer, and sent emissaries to consult him; Newcastle even offered to retire if his presence was an obstacle to Pitt's joining the Ministry. But Pitt brooded over imaginary grievances and was impenetrable.

Pitt's failure to form a ministry in June 1765 was a disaster to himself and the country, for his strong guidance was never more needed. The liberties of the people had been invaded by the promiscuous use of general and search warrants, and discontent was rife; privileges of the House of Commons had been abandoned, and even the Crown had been insulted by Grenville and Bedford; there was no foreign policy; the navy, by the confession of Grenville's own First Lord, was neglected;[1] America was being alienated. The Whig Ministry that came in Pitt's place had not the authority or the experience that he would have brought. Pitt must have believed that without Temple he could not have succeeded, for he was not the man to sacrifice his country even to the tenderest affection; but his vision was warped by hatred of the old Whig domination, and the fear that by taking in Newcastle and his friends instead of Temple he would help to restore it. Pitt thus missed his best chance of restoring honour and prosperity and a sound system of government to the country before his strength was sapped by his fatal illness. He himself dimly saw that such an opportunity would not recur, and in the bitterness of his soul quoted to Temple the lines:—

> Extinxti me teque, soror, populumque patresque
> Sidonios, urbemque tuam.

Once before, in 1754, an evil spirit had laid hold of him, and in his black despair he had asked only for rest and peace. Then

[1] *Grenville Papers*, ii, 290.

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the Great Commoner had arisen refreshed and had smitten the Philistines hip and thigh. So now again the evil spirit, that was upon him during those dismal days at Bath, departed from him and he awoke,

> to find himself set
> Clear and safe in new light and new life—a new harmony yet
> To be run, and continued and ended. . . .

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CHAPTER XXI

PITT AND THE TAXATION OF AMERICA

ἥμισυ γάρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποαίνυται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
ἀνέρος, εὖτ' ἂν μιν κατὰ δούλιον ἦμαρ ἕλῃσιν.

HOMER, *Odyssey*, xvii, 322–3.[1]

I rejoice that America has resisted.—WILLIAM PITT.

STILL young in spirit, but infirm in body from gout and incessant toil, Pitt, at sixty years of age, undertook his life's noblest and hardest task. Hitherto, when most at war with privilege, he had been consoled by the enthusiasm of a people behind him; but in his struggle to convert a blind people to wise government of the continent they had won he stood almost alone, and in his lifetime was doomed to failure. Yet he spoke not vainly to future generations, and was never greater than when abandoned by all. Every moment of respite from illness he devoted to this task; in the battle for liberty he spent his strength as freely as in conquering an empire; no other cause evoked from him eloquence so inspired and so sublime. Like Milton he stalked with a conscious dignity of pre-eminence, fascinating all beholders and aweing them by the majesty of his language and his presence.

Grenville's policy of taxing America undoubtedly accorded with the views of the majority in Great Britain. The late war had been burdensome to the mother-country, whereas

[1] 'The man who submits to slavery is bereft of half his virtue.'
The first of these lines was inscribed by Pitt in Thomas Hollis's copy of the first edition of Buchanan's *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*. (Blackburne, *Memoirs of T. Hollis.*)

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its most obvious advantage came to the American colonists, who were delivered from their long nightmare of French aggression. Their sacrifices in men and money, which were considerable,[1] were depreciated or ignored in England, and attention was concentrated on the rare instances of colonies that had evaded their responsibilities owing to constitutional disputes with their governors. Complaints of the independence and want of discipline of the colonial troops had been brought home by the regular soldiers, and tales of the cantankerousness and disloyalty of the provincial assemblies by governors and other officials. When, therefore, Grenville apostrophized 'the ungrateful people of America, to whom we have extended our bounties,' he awoke a sympathetic echo throughout England; and it was thought fitting that these ungracious children should learn to respect the authority of the mother-country and take their share of the taxation falling on the English taxpayer for 'their' war. The right of Parliament to tax the colonies was hardly questioned by anybody, when the proposal was first mooted, least of all by the orthodox Whigs. Ever since Charles II's reign, during the long period of Whig supremacy, relations with the colonies had been governed by what Grenville called 'that palladium of British commerce,' the Acts of Navigation. By these Acts, passed on the sole authority of Parliament, colonial manufactures were restrained, duties imposed, and bounties given on colonial as well as home products, and regulations laid down for navigation in home and colonial waters. Indirect or external taxation, as it was then called, was implied in nearly all these provisions, and was taken as a matter of course by everybody in America. The

[1] Although Pitt fulfilled his promise of obtaining grants in aid from the House of Commons to recoup expenses of the colonies, many of them spent much more than was ever repaid them. Franklin, in his evidence to the House of Commons in 1766, claimed that Pennsylvania, for example, had disbursed £500,000 and had only received £60,000 from Parliament, and that America had raised an average of 25,000 men during the last years of the war. (Bancroft, (1886), iii, 202.) In the pamphlet, *The Rights of Great Britain Asserted* (1776) the amount paid to the colonies as levy money, &c., for troops raised by them between 1756 and 1763 is estimated at £1,275,759. From the figures given by Beer, *British Colonial Policy*, 53–8, it appears that Parliament thus paid about two-fifths of the colonial expenses during the war.

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regulations were as old as most of the colonies themselves: the Americans, who had never known their industry unfettered, accepted them like a law of nature and no more thought of them in the light of a grievance than the great ladies of China the binding of their feet. Moreover the Acts of Navigation were not entirely one-sided: the mother-country gave bounties on some colonial products and even imposed a few restrictions on her own trade in the supposed interest of the colonists.[1] In fact opinion on the subject both at home and in America was in a hazy state, but quite free from bitterness. This haze Grenville rudely dispelled by his severity in enforcing regulations laxly administered in the past and by his abolition of jury-trial in revenue cases; while by his imposition of a direct or internal tax under the Stamp Act he called attention to the logical basis on which all these measures rested. He argued that if Parliament could impose an external tax Parliament was equally entitled to impose an internal tax on America. This development of doctrine gradually led the Americans to deny Parliament's right in both cases; the Whigs, with no less logical pedantry than Grenville, felt bound to admit both claims. Walpole, it was recalled, had refused to put an excise on America solely on the ground that he feared the same consequences as in England, and when the Whigs at last woke up to the consequences of Grenville's policy they did not dispute the right, but merely took up Walpole's ground of expediency. They saw Grenville's folly in 'grubbing up every plant of commerce and in its room planting taxes,' but they derided as an 'ecstasy of madness' all attempts to draw a logical distinction between internal and external taxation.

This 'ecstasy of madness' was the very solution adopted by Pitt. He was no formal logician, no hair-splitter about abstract rights, but he had in him that instinctive appreciation of facts and sympathy with the feelings of great masses

[1] *The Rights of Great Britain Asserted* draws attention to the large bounties paid by England to America on indigo, hemp, flax, naval stores, &c. Beer (ch. xiv) quotes contemporary writings to show that until 1764 the Americans had no objection to the trade regulations in principle.

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of people which are the statesman's best logic. In 1757 he had been urged to propose a stamp tax for America by Halifax and had unquestioningly rejected it.[1] From the first he had lamented Grenville's policy and in his last negotiation with the King had stipulated that it should be reversed. Probably he could then have given no reason for his hostility to the policy, save that, knowing the Americans as few other men in England, he was convinced they would not stand it. He was never hasty in formulating his principles: he looked round a question long, pondering and reading, and consulting those in whom he felt confidence. On this occasion he again consulted Pratt, he read what the Americans had to say, notably a well-argued pamphlet by Daniel Dulany of Maryland,[2] and in his retreat at Bath established to his own satisfaction the principles underlying his instinctive judgment.[3]

Pitt's first principle was that Parliament had no right to impose direct taxation on those not represented there. No man had a higher conception of the authority of Parliament, but in the principle 'no taxation without representation' he found yet higher authority. Equally fundamental in his eyes was the right of Parliament to frame commercial regulations and impose duties binding throughout the Empire. 'In all the laws relating to trade and navigation,' he said in 1770, 'this is the mother-country, they are the children; they must obey and we prescribe.' These commercial regulations seemed to him indispensable for the union of a great people scattered over the globe. In war he aimed at exclusive possession of territory as an outlet for British commerce and justified his aim of driving the French and Spaniards from their settlements in Africa, America and the East and West Indies, and sub-

[1] See vol. i, p. 299.

[2] *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes on the British Colonies* (Annapolis, 1765). In one of his speeches of the 1766 session Pitt mentioned this pamphlet with approval, and in his great speeches of January 14, 1766, paid it the still higher compliment of reproducing much of its argument and some even of its language (see below, pp. 191, 197).

[3] It is possible that Pitt's irritability and his unwillingness to offer advice to ministers during the last months of 1765 may have been partly due to the process of reflection he was then undergoing, before he had fully formulated his reasons for the faith that was in him.

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stituting Englishmen by the exclusive character of other nations' trade. In peace he was a rigid mercantilist with the sole view of developing trade within the Empire. This appears in his constant support of Beckford in the policy of favouring the English sugar colonies; it is also illustrated by his intervention in a debate of 1766. The Rockingham Ministry, inspired by Burke's more liberal ideas of trade, determined to remove some of the trammels of the Navigation Acts, whereby the colonists were prohibited from importing the goods of foreign countries; with this object they proposed to open free ports in Dominica and Jamaica for the admission of goods from the French West Indies. Among other advantages promised by the scheme was the encouragement of the cotton industry in Dominica by the free importation of the raw material from the French colonies. Pitt was alarmed by Beckford at the prospect of a free trade in sugar,[1] and, although he welcomed the idea of promoting the manufacture of cotton, for that very reason he declared we should ourselves supply the first material, 'not render the basis of such a lucrative manufacture dependent on France or the first rupture. Nothing is so demonstrated,' he added, 'as that our British possessions will, with proper regulations, supply all the cotton wanted in twice nine months. . . . I hope to hear this unsolid idea of a free port is quite rejected and exploded.' April 24, 1766.

The two contradictory principles of 'no taxation without representation' and Parliament's inalienable right to impose commercial restrictions and duties on colonists not represented in Parliament were reconciled in Pitt's mind by the distinction he drew between direct taxation, levied on a whole community, and duties, which brought in a purely accidental revenue and were imposed 'for the accommodation of the subject.' In one of his speeches of 1775 he spoke of 'the metaphysical refinements, whereby the Americans were shown to be equally free from obedience to commercial restraints as from taxation for revenue, as futile, frivolous and groundless. Property,'

[1] See in *Chatham MSS.* 19 a letter of Beckford of April 18, 1766, urging Pitt to attend on this question in the interests of the sugar colonies.

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he added, 'is in its nature single as an atom.'[1] Economically Pitt's reasoning was faulty, for such a distinction between direct and indirect taxation is unsound. But politically, in the circumstances of his day, he was justified on the higher consideration of government by consent. The colonists felt no grievance in the regulations, which seemed indispensable to Pitt for the union of the Empire's component parts: on the other hand they resented direct taxation by Parliament as an unpardonable invasion of their liberties. By lumping both together the Whigs, no less than Grenville and Bedford, risked both. As Franklin told the House of Commons, if internal taxes were enforced, on the ground that Parliament had the right to impose any tax, whether internal or external, the Americans might end by concluding that the two were indistinguishable and reject the authority of Parliament altogether.

The Americans' hostility to Grenville's measures was soon made manifest. The mere news that they had been passed aroused all that passion for liberty and intolerance of oppression which had sent the first New England settlers across the Atlantic. The hand of tyranny was seen in attempts to fetter the independence of the judges, in the abolition of juries in revenue cases, and in stringent Billeting Acts. It was an added grievance that the new taxation came at a time when the colonists were suffering from the expense and losses of Pontiac's bloody revolt, which their own volunteer forces had done more to suppress than the more deliberate forces of the Crown. Soon the whole continent was aflame. The stamp officers were met on landing, had their stamps seized and confiscated, and were made to forswear their functions. Barristers would not plead or judges act in South Carolina, to avoid having to deal with stamped documents. Merchants agreed to order no more goods from England as long as the new customs regulations remained in force, and the people gave up the slaughter of lambs to ensure a supply of wool which, owing to this self-denying ordinance, they could no longer

[1] This is quoted in Niles, *Principles and Acts of the Revolution*; but the date is wrongly given as December 20, 1775. Probably the speech referred to is that of January 20.

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obtain from the mother-country.[1] Summonses to delegates for a common congress were issued and obeyed by many of the colonies, hitherto rent asunder by mutual jealousies. This congress passed resolutions demanding trial by jury in all cases, freedom from taxation except by vote of the assemblies, and an acknowledgment of their inherent rights and liberties: these resolutions they embodied in the form of a petition of right, which they sent to Parliament. The colonists adopted the title, 'Sons of Liberty,' given to them by Barré, and the cry, 'Pitt and Liberty for ever,' re-echoed through the land. For in their new affliction they all turned to the man who had saved them from the French and had already shown an understanding of them, such as they were little accustomed to expect from England.

From the Ministry scant guidance was to be obtained. Few cabinets so weak and disunited have flitted across the stage of politics. The Duke of Cumberland created it and, while he lived, attended all Cabinet councils and was virtually its chief. Under his guidance the new ministers started on lines agreeable to Pitt: Pratt's peerage, under the title of Lord Camden, was one instance; negotiations for a treaty of alliance with Prussia were also inaugurated.[2] But after Cumberland's death on October 31, 1765, they were left utterly at sea. Rockingham was a worthy and public-spirited man with higher ideals in politics than Newcastle ever dreamed of; but, though jealous of his position, he was no leader and was shy of his own voice. Conscious of this defect, he once apologised to the House for his silence, 'owning it was a natural infirmity proceeding from his high respect for their lordships'[3]—a strange excuse from the Prime Minister of England. Northington and Egmont, legacies from the preceding administration, were a hindrance rather than a help, Northington testily objecting to everything his colleagues proposed, while Egmont spent most of his time carrying messages

[1] See, for some of these details, Champigny, *Supplément au Ministère de M. Pitt* (Cologne, 1766).

[2] See Minutes of Cabinet of July 22, 1765 (*Add. MSS.* 32968, f. 166).

[3] *Caldwell Papers*, iii, 85.

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between the King and Lord Bute.[1] The very existence of the Ministry depended on the 'King's Friends,' satellites of the Court, who had superseded Newcastle's docile majorities. The Prussian negotiation was soon dropped,[2] and on other points the Ministry could hardly be said to have a policy. Their indecision was most marked in respect to America. Gage, commanding the troops there, and several of the provincial governors, alarmed at the disturbances, wrote home for instructions how to deal with the men they already called rebels. Conway, the Secretary of State, sent no answer until October 16, and then left his correspondents as wise as they were before, telling them to combine lenity with vigour, mercy with resolution, prudence with firmness, &c. Conway had opposed the Stamp Act, but Dartmouth at the Board of Trade was for enforcing it without compunction. On December 12 Rockingham, Conway, the Chancellor of the Exchequer Dowdeswell, and Dartmouth declared to a deputation of English merchants, who were already alarmed at the loss of the American trade, that the right to tax America would never be given up; a suspension of the present laws was the most they were to expect. Even on this they were not decided, and at a Cabinet meeting held on the eve of the session of January 1766[3] no American policy could be agreed upon, but a message was sent to Mr. Pitt at Bath to ask his advice and offer him a place in the Ministry.

The messenger came at a bad moment to Pitt. He had already had overtures to join the Ministry; Grafton had expressed his willingness to give place to him at any time, and even Newcastle had declared that, if his presence was an obstacle, he would not remain, although it does not appear

[1] This appears from the correspondence between the King and Egmont in the *Egmont Papers* (bundle labelled 'Early George III letters' 1765–6). The King kept this intrigue as secret as possible and warned Egmont not to let his chariot be seen too often at the palace door (George III to Egmont, January 7, 1766).

[2] In July Pitt had told General Whitmore that he feared the Ministry were not sound on the Prussian alliance, and in December Newcastle lamented that it had been 'totally dropped.' (*Add. MSS.* 32968, f. 212; 32972, f. 126.)

[3] This indecision is the more remarkable since there had already been a session of a few days in the middle of December.

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that Pitt himself was so informed. To these overtures Pitt had not hitherto responded. He remained very guarded in his approval of the Ministry, and felt little confidence in Rockingham's capacity, while he still kept harping on poor Newcastle's evil influence. If he himself came in, a bed of roses, he said, must be made for the duke's retirement, 'for any difference of opinion with so venerable and experienced a minister must be fatal to measures.'[1] At the same time he had not yet refused positively. A last act of folly decided him. Arriving at Bath on Christmas Day he found on his table a *Gazette* announcing that Lord George Sackville had been appointed Vice-Treasurer of Ireland and a Privy Councillor, a measure which he regarded as an insult to the late King's memory, to his ministers, to Prince Ferdinand and to the court-martial that had condemned him. This made him once more suspect Bute's machinations behind the curtain. 'Can infatuation of power go so far in a moment big with dangers of every kind?' he wrote to Shelburne, '. . . as I now see how *really* I was wanted or wished for I will come to town as *late* as I can . . . well assured that the most credulous will not *now* wish that I should take the least confidence.'[2] When, therefore, the Cabinet's emissary arrived, Pitt replied coldly that he had disapproved of the late acts relative to the colonies, but should reserve his full opinion to deliver to the House; and that, though he was willing to take office under the Crown, it would not be in a ministry containing the Duke of Newcastle. On hearing this answer the King refused to risk 'either his dignity or the continuance of his administration by a fresh treaty with that gentleman.'

Whatever may have been Newcastle's schemes of Whig domination, Pitt was wrong in not seeing that the time for them was past. Had he come into the Ministry when the first overtures were made to him immediately after Cumberland's death,[3] he would probably have ruled it as absolutely as he did his former Ministry. The Whigs were weak and craved a

[1] *Wrest Park MSS.* (T. Robinson's Memoranda).
[2] *Lansdowne House MSS.* P. 27. [3] Grafton, p. 62.

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leader; and though Pitt had no ambition to lead the Whigs he would have been able to broaden the basis of the Ministry gradually. But he had become so impatient of the mere semblance of inferiority, so set against any form of party government, that he would not even lead a ministry that he had not constituted. He was anxious to come into power, for he took the gloomiest view of the country's prospects and felt once more that he alone could save it. But he required for it a direct commission from the King, and in an elaborate letter to Shelburne indicated his willingness to form a ministry if he were formally approached and given a free hand.

Faction [he wrote] shakes and corruption saps the country to its foundations, while Luxury immasculates and Pleasure dissipates the understandings of men. Nor ever in this wretched state of the Times are the means such as they might be yet opened in *that extent* and with that *authenticity* sufficient to engage a serious and close consideration amongst common friends steadily bent on the same great object. To speak more plain, until the King is graciously pleased to signify his commands to me that I should again lay at his feet my poor thoughts upon the formation of a solid system both as to the *measures* and as to the *instruments* which are to constitute that system, and this in such *an extent* and with *such powers* as shall leave to the eyes of the world nothing equivocal on the outside of it, nor any dark creeping factions *within*, I see not the least daylight for such a broken reed as I am to be of any use.[1]

If Pitt was wrong in making himself so difficult of approach for the Ministry, he made amends by resuming his part as the Great Commoner. He resolved to appear before the Grand Inquest of the nation and explain, as he alone could, the gravity of the crisis and the measures needed to meet it. On the opening day of the session he arrived from Bath and went straight to the House of Commons. To the Americans in the gallery he came as 'an angel or saviour'; to the House he came as a ruler:

alto
Prospiciens, summa placidum caput extulit unda.

[1] The draft of this letter appears in *Chatham Corr.* ii, 358. The letter as sent to Shelburne and as quoted in the text is in *Lansdowne House MSS.* P. 27. The numerous and meticulous corrections made on the first draft show the extreme deliberation with which Pitt wrote this desponding letter.

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The King's Speech had reflected the ministers' indecision. In his first words Pitt struck the note of calm deliberation befitting such an occasion, when the gain or loss of America might depend on the decision taken by the House. January 14, 1766.

I came to town but to-day: I was a stranger to the tenor of His Majesty's Speech and the proposed address until I heard them read in this House. Unconcerted and unconnected[1] I have not the means of information: I am fearful of offending through mistake and therefore beg to be indulged with a second reading of the proposed address.

Pausing while the clerk read the Address, he then resumed his speech. He first blamed the ministers for not summoning Parliament sooner.

As to the late ministry [turning to Grenville who sat near him], every capital measure they have taken has been entirely wrong. As to the present gentlemen [looking at Conway], I have no objection. Their characters are fair . . . some of them have done me the honour to ask my opinion before they would engage. These will do me the justice to own I advised them to engage; but notwithstanding—I cannot give them my confidence: pardon me, gentlemen [bowing to the Ministry], confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom; youth is the season of credulity. By comparing events with each other, reasoning from effects to causes, methinks I plainly discover the traces of an overruling influence.[2] . . . I have had the honour to serve the Crown, and if I could have submitted to influence, I might have still continued to serve; but I would not be responsible for others.

Then, passing from the thought of the Scottish favourite to the Scottish nation, he continued:—

I have no local attachments; it is indifferent to me whether a man was rocked in his cradle on this side or that side of the Tweed. I sought for merit wherever it was to be found. It is my boast that

[1] 'Unconnected and *unconsulted*' is the version given by Sir R. Dean and Lord Charlemont (see *Chatham Corr.* ii, 364). Pitt obviously did not say '*unconsulted*,' which would not have been true, since the Cabinet had sent to ask his advice. The words given in the text are more characteristic, and are to be found both in Walpole's account and in Lord George Sackville's to Irwin on January 17 (*Historical MSS. Commission*, IX, iii, 21).

[2] This is no doubt an allusion to Sackville's appointment and his suspicion that it was due to Bute.

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I was the first minister who looked for it; and I found it in the mountains of the north. I called it forth and drew it into your service, a hardy and intrepid race of men; men who, when left by your jealousy, became a prey to the artifices of your enemies, and had gone nigh to have overturned the State in the war before the last. These men, in the last war, were brought to combat on your side: they served with fidelity as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world: detested be the national reflections against them! They are unjust, groundless, illiberal, unmanly. When I ceased to serve His Majesty as a minister, it was not the country of the man by which I was moved, but the *man* of that country wanted wisdom and held principles incompatible with freedom.

After his lament for the illness that had prevented him from bearing testimony against Grenville's Stamp Act,[1]

It is now an act that has passed [he went on]. I would speak with decency of every act of this House; but I must beg the indulgence of the House to speak of it with freedom. . . . It is a subject of greater importance than ever engaged the attention of this House; that subject only excepted, when nearly a century ago, it was the question whether you yourselves were to be bond or free. The manner in which this affair will be terminated will decide the judgment of posterity on the glory of this kingdom and the wisdom of its government during the present reign.

In the meantime . . . I must now, though somewhat unseasonably, leaving the expediency of the Stamp Act to another time, speak to a point of infinite moment. I mean to the right. . . . On a question that may mortally wound the freedom of three millions of virtuous and brave subjects beyond the Atlantic Ocean, I cannot be silent. . . . It is my opinion that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies. At the same time, I assert the authority of this kingdom over the colonies to be sovereign and supreme, in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. They are the subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind, and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen: equally bound by its laws and equally participating of the constitution of this free country. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards of England. As subjects they are entitled to the common right of representation and cannot be bound to pay taxes without their consent.

[1] The passage has already been quoted, p. 168.

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Taxation is no part of the governing power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. . . when therefore in this House we give and grant, we give what is our own. But in an American tax what do we do? We your Majesty's Commons of Great Britain give and grant to your Majesty—what? Our own property? No. We give and grant to your Majesty the property of your Majesty's Commons in America. It is an absurdity in terms.[1]

It had been argued by some that America was virtually represented in Parliament. 'I would fain know by whom an American is represented here? Is he represented by any knight of the shire, in any county of this kingdom?' Then, led by this train of thought to probe to the root of their own representative system—

Would to God that respectable representation was augmented to a greater number! Or will you tell him that he is represented by any representative of a borough—a borough which perhaps its own representatives never saw? This is what is called 'the rotten part of the constitution.' It cannot endure the century. If it does not drop it must be amputated. The idea of a virtual representation of America in this House is the most contemptible idea that ever entered the head of man: it does not deserve a serious refutation.

The Commons of America represented in their several assemblies have ever been in possession of this their constitutional right of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it. . . . If this House suffers the Stamp Act to continue in force, France will gain more by your colonies than she ever could have done if her arms in the last war had been victorious.

I never shall own the justice of taxing America internally until she enjoys the right of representation. In every other point of legislation the authority of Parliament is, like the north star, fixed for the reciprocal benefit of the parent country and her colonies. . . . The power of Parliament, like the circulation of the human heart, active, vigorous and perfect in the smallest fibre of the arterial system, may be known in the colonies by the prohibition of their

[1] Compare with this passage the words of Dulany's pamphlet (see above, p. 182): 'The Commons of Great Britain, moreover, in their capacity of representatives not only give and grant the property of the colonies, but . . . give and grant . . . a power to tax them higher still.'

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carrying a hat to market over the line of one province into another, or by breaking down a loom in the most distant corner of the British Empire in America, and if this power were denied, I would not permit them to manufacture a lock of wool or a horseshoe or a hobnail. In everything you may bind them except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent. Here I would draw the line,—

sunt certi denique fines,
Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.

I know not what we may hope or fear from those now in place; but I have confidence in their good intentions. . . . I could not refrain from expressing the reflections I have made in my retirement, which I hope long to enjoy, beholding, as I do, ministries changed one after another, and passing away like shadows.

He ceased, and there was a long pause. At last Conway rose to say that, speaking, he believed, for most of the King's servants, he adopted Pitt's opinions, adding that he was unconscious of any overruling influence in their councils. Grenville then entered into a defence of the Stamp Act, recounted all his acts of generosity to the 'ungrateful people of America,' and accused those who encouraged them of sedition. At this Pitt rose once more. He was called to order for speaking twice in the same debate; but nice customs curtsey to great kings, and the House, impatient of forms for Pitt, made St. Stephen's Chapel resound with shouts of 'Go on, go on.'

'Gentlemen,' he began, then, recollecting himself, 'Sir, I have been charged with giving birth to sedition in America. . . . Sorry I am to hear the liberty of speech in this House imputed as a crime. . . . It is a liberty I mean to exercise.' Then, in language that resounded through the world:

The gentleman tells us America is obstinate; America is almost in open rebellion.

I rejoice that America has resisted.

If its millions of inhabitants had submitted, taxes would soon have been laid on Ireland; and, if ever this nation should have a tyrant for its king, six millions of freemen, so dead to all the feelings of liberty, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest.

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I come not here armed at all points, with law cases and acts of Parliament, with the Statute Book doubled down in dog's ears to defend the cause of liberty. . . . I would not debate a particular point of law with the gentleman. I know his abilities. I have been obliged to his diligent researches. But for the defence of liberty upon a general principle, upon a constitutional principle, it is a ground on which I stand firm, on which I dare meet any man. I draw my ideas of freedom from the vital powers of the British constitution, not from the crude and fallacious notions too much relied upon, as if we were but in the morning of liberty. . . . I shall never bend with the pliant suppleness of some, who have cried aloud for freedom, only to have an occasion of renouncing or destroying it. . . .

Not one of the ministers who have taken the lead of government since the accession of King William ever recommended a tax like this of the Stamp Act. Lord Halifax, educated in the House of Commons, Lord Oxford, Lord Orford, a great revenue minister, never thought of this. . . . There were not wanting some,[1] when I had the honour to serve his Majesty, to propose to me to burn my fingers with an American stamp act. With the enemy at their back, with our bayonets at their breasts, in the day of their distress, perhaps the Americans would have submitted to the imposition, but it would have been taking an ungenerous and unjust advantage. . . .

The gentleman boasts of his bounties to America. Are not those bounties intended finally for the benefit of this kingdom? If they are not, he has misapplied the national treasures.

If the gentleman cannot understand the difference between internal and external taxes, I cannot help it. But there is a plain distinction between taxes levied for the purpose of raising revenue and duties imposed for the regulation of trade for the accommodation of the subject, although in consequence some revenue may accidentally arise from the latter.

The gentleman asks, When were the colonies emancipated? I desire to know when they were made slaves. But I dwell not upon words. . . . The profits to Great Britain from the trade of the colonies, in all its branches, is two millions a year.[2] This is the fund

[1] Another Lord Halifax (see vol. i, p. 299).

[2] This was an underestimate according to a return on the trade with America in 1764, presented to the House of Commons in 1775. From this it appears that the exports alone of Great Britain to North America amounted in value to £2,740,000. (*Chatham MSS.* 81.) In 1767, according to the official figures given by Beer (*British Colonial Policy*, 137–8) the exports to America were valued at £2,016,000.

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that carried you triumphantly through the last war. . . . You owe this to America; this is the price America pays for her protection. And shall a miserable financier come with a boast, that he can bring a peppercorn into the exchequer, to the loss of millions to the nation? . . . I am convinced the whole commercial system of America may be altered to advantage. You have prohibited where you ought to have encouraged and encouraged where you ought to have prohibited. . . . Let acts of Parliament in consequence of treaties remain, but let not an English minister become a custom-house officer for Spain or for any foreign power. . . .

The gentleman must not wonder he was not contradicted, when, as the minister, he asserted the right of Parliament to tax America. I know not how it is, but there is a modesty in this House, which does not choose to contradict a minister. I wish gentlemen would get the better of this modesty. Even that chair, Sir, sometimes looks towards St. James's. If they do not, perhaps the collective body may begin to abate of its respect for the representative.[1] Lord Bacon has told me, that a great question would not fail of being agitated at one time or another. . . .

A great deal has been said without doors of the power, of the strength, of America. It is a topic that ought to be cautiously meddled with. If any idea of renouncing allegiance has existed, it was but a momentary frenzy; and, if the case was either probable or possible I should think of the Atlantic sea as less than a line dividing one country from another. In a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms. I know the valour of your troops. I know the skill of your officers. . . . But on this ground, on the Stamp Act, . . . your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like a strong man. She would embrace the pillars of the State and pull down the constitution with her.

Is this your boasted peace? Not to sheathe the sword in its scabbard but to sheathe it in the bowels of your brothers, the Americans? Will you quarrel with yourselves, now the whole House of Bourbon is united against you? . . .

The Americans have not acted in all things with prudence and temper. The Americans have been wronged. They have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the

[1] Six months later *Atticus* (possibly Francis) writes in the *Public Advertiser*: 'The collective body of the nation have begun already not only to abate but even to renounce all its respect for their representatives, having been too long and too often convinced of their corruption, pusillanimity, and dependence on ministers.'

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madness you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and temper come first from this side. I will undertake for America that she will follow the example. There are two lines of Prior's, of a man's behaviour to his wife, so applicable to you and your colonies, that I cannot help repeating them:

> Be to her faults a little blind,
> Be to her virtues very kind.

Upon the whole I beg leave to tell the House what is really my opinion. It is that the Stamp Act be repealed absolutely, totally and immediately; that the reason for the repeal should be assigned, because it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the same time let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever: that we may bind their trade, confine their manufacturers and exercise every power whatsoever—except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent.

Let us be content with the advantages which Providence has bestowed upon us. We have attained the highest glory and greatness; let us strive long to preserve them for our own happiness and that of our posterity.'[1]

Friend and foe were alike struck dumb by these two great speeches. Penn said he spoke like a man inspired. 'Heavens, what a fellow is this Pitt!' wrote Charlemont, fresh from the scene. 'I had his bust before,[2] but nothing less than his statue shall content me now.' 'Such is his influence,' lamented an opponent, 'that not a man will be found to arraign his reasoning, nor one lawyer to prove that we have a right to tax our colonists. Such was the power of Pitt's intense conviction, such the

[1] This debate is admirably reported. Besides the version of Sir R. Dean, assisted by Lord Charlemont, in *Chatham Corr.*, Bancroft has some additional phrases, partly derived from Moffat's report to Rhode Island, partly from the version in the French archives. Moffat, for example, is responsible for the 'horseshoe and hobnail' phrase, which is also confirmed by Knox, *Extra Official Papers*. A general confirmation of both versions is afforded by Walpole, Sackville (*Historical MSS. Commission* IX, iii, 21), and Rouet (*Caldwell Papers*, iii, 59).

[2] According to Timbs, Scheemakers modelled the noble bust of Pitt at Stowe, which was bought at the sale in 1848 by Sir Robert Peel. There is a cast of this bust at Chevening: Charlemont's may have been another cast or a replica of this.

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supreme beauty and force of his language, that in a House which contained hardly a man fully sharing his views the Stamp Act from that night was doomed. Rockingham himself wrote to the King that one more effort must be made to bring into the Ministry the man with the 'amazing powers and influence Mr. Pitt has, whenever he takes part in debate'; and he with Grafton extorted a grudging assent from the King to approach Pitt once more. But after the negotiation had proceeded so far that Pitt declared his readiness no longer to insist on Temple for the Treasury and to join the Ministry if Newcastle and Sackville were removed, Rockingham took it out of Grafton's hands and allowed it to drop. Though anxious for Pitt's name to add lustre to his Ministry, Rockingham had no intention of yielding the first place, which he saw Pitt would assume, and he was at variance with Pitt on the right of Parliament to tax America. Here he found the King in sympathy with him. On hearing Rockingham's account of Pitt's conditions George III is reported to have said: 'I have twice sent for him and offered him terms; it is now his business to wait upon me and solicit me.'[1]

Pitt was therefore left to fight alone. Even Temple, who shared Grenville's views on American taxation, had become so estranged that he would sit under the gallery in the House condemning and sneering at all Pitt said and ostentatiously applauding Grenville.[2] But the lust of battle for the right had taken hold of Pitt, and he fought with the same ardour as in the Homeric contests of 1755 and 1756. Conway presented masses of papers to Parliament to aid its deliberations on America, and on January 27, in one of the fullest Houses ever seen,[3] one of Pitt's friends had the hardihood to offer for consideration the Petition of Right sent across the Atlantic by the hastily summoned congress of American provinces.[4]

[1] *Caldwell Papers*, iii, 62. Bancroft has the fullest account of this negotiation. Details are also to be found in the *Grafton and Shelburne Memoirs* and in the *Rockingham Memoirs*, where the King's letter in vol. i, p. 271, evidently refers to the report of Pitt's terms brought back by Grafton and Rockingham.

[2] *Historical MSS. Commission*, IX, iii, 22 (*Sackville*).

[3] Garth to South Carolina (quoted by Bancroft).

[4] See above, p. 185.

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Grenville objected to admitting a petition from this 'dangerous and federal union.'

Dangerous and federal! [exclaimed Pitt] Why! it is the evil genius of this country that has riveted amongst them this union, no more 'dangerous and federal' than a meeting at the Albemarle Street Club or on Newmarket Heath. The Americans originally fled from the Star Chamber and the High Commission Court, and in comparison of this country the desert smiled upon them.[1] Now if, as I assert, Parliament cannot tax America without her consent, the original compact with the colonies is actually broken and they have the right to resist.' January 27, 1766.

'At such a doctrine,' rejoined Norton, the loud-voiced Attorney-General of the 'drunken porters' speech, 'my blood runs cold: the gentleman sounds the trumpet of rebellion, for which he should be sent to another place.' 'Send me if you dare,' in effect retorted Pitt, and Norton collapsed.

One cheering incident encouraged Pitt on this day. Edmund Burke, Rockingham's private secretary, made his maiden speech in favour of admitting the petition, and by his eloquence at once leaped into the first rank of that splendid band of orators which shed glory on the latter half of the eighteenth century. The veteran master of them all welcomed the hope of the Whigs with gracious courtesy: 'The young member has anticipated my arguments with so much ingenuity and eloquence that there is little left for me to say; I congratulate him on his success and his friends on the value of the acquisition they have made.' But Burke, who had not Pitt's consuming love of liberty, did not abide with him long.[2]

While the House of Commons was listening to clerks droning out the contents of the American papers and examining witnesses, Pitt was gathering strength at Hayes. 'Business in the House swarms,' he wrote to his wife, 'but the bees never settle.' He read all the evidence, and, when serious business

[1] Compare again Dulany's pamphlet, 'The English subjects who left their native country to settle in the wilderness of America have the privileges of other Englishmen.'

[2] During Pitt's Ministry the Duchess of Queensberry had sent an application on behalf of Burke, then already known for his *Treatise*, for the appointment of consul at Madrid. But Pitt appointed somebody else.

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was resumed, came back refreshed. On February 3, 1766, Conway introduced a series of resolutions embodying the Ministry's policy. The first ran: 'That Great Britain hath and ought to have full right and power to bind the Americans in all cases whatsoever.' Barré's amendment, to leave out the last four words of the resolution, brought to the front the great principle for which Pitt was fighting: 'No taxation without representation.' Burke spoke again, already against Pitt's views, arguing so strongly for England's right of taxation that his speech was applauded by the Grenville party as 'far superior to that of every other speaker.' All the lawyers spoke on the same side. Pitt's speech was chiefly an attempt to answer the lawyers in their own style. 'Your first act,' he said, 'is to vote that a supply be granted, and till that is done the whole legislature stagnates.' From this he argued that the right of taxation could be distinguished from general legislation, because the representative House alone granted taxation, which could not be altered by Lords or King. Thence he soared to those general principles of government on which he loved to dwell. Some speaker had declared it unwise to pry too closely into 'fundamentals' like the right of taxation.

> Not look into foundations! [he cried] What would this doctrine have concluded when prerogative was thought fundamental? Machiavel tells you you should look often into your Principles: what else produced the Reformation? What revived liberty in this country? . . . If liberty be not countenanced in America it will sicken, fade, and die in this country. . . . The colonies are too great an object to be grasped but in the arms of affection. [1]

Yet Barré and Beckford alone supported Pitt. At four in the morning the resolution declaratory of Parliament's right to tax as well as legislate for America was carried with hardly a dissentient voice. Nine years later the existence of this act on the Statute Book was asserted by Congress to be one of the reasons that determined America to take up arms.

But, this point once decided, Pitt had it all his own way.

[1] There is an excellent account of this debate by Grey Cooper in Record Office, *Treasury Papers*, 372, printed in *American Hist. Review*, xvii, 3.

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Hitherto, he said, his support had been of little efficacy to American liberty, for he stood 'almost naked in that House, like a primæval parent; naked, because innocent; naked, because not ashamed.' But in the debate of February 5, on Conway's remaining resolutions, Pitt took the direction upon him as if he had been in office: 'the oracle has spoken; the ministers have prostrated themselves before it,' sneered Wedderburn. The second resolution, declaring that there had been tumults in America, was passed after a successful protest from Pitt against words of greater condemnation; so was the third, declaring certain votes of the assemblies illegal. The fourth, calling for condign punishment on the rioters, was dropped on Pitt's suggestion. The fifth recommended compensation for sufferers by the riots: Pitt agreed with a conciliatory form of words proposed by Grenville, and went away early, after telling the ministers that he approved of their conduct and would support them. Two days later, though suffering extremely from gout, Pitt came to oppose Grenville's motion for enforcing the Stamp Act. The act was about to be repealed, he asserted with confidence, and yet for its few remaining weeks was it to be put into force amidst scenes of bloodshed and military execution that would make the Committee shudder? And supposing the message announcing its repeal were delayed —when Secretary of State he had known the fleet wind-bound in the Channel for nine or eleven weeks—the governors might go on enforcing it long after it had been repealed. Then, excusing himself for illness, he left the Committee, which rejected Grenville's motion by 274 to 134.[1]

February 5, 1766.

February 7, 1766.

On February 21 Conway moved in Committee for leave to bring in a bill repealing the Stamp Act. In spite of the majority on the 7th the fate of this motion was by no means certain. The King had hinted to some of his friends that, though willing to modify, he was against repealing the act, and had explicitly told two of his household they might vote

[1] Grenville was highly affronted because Pitt did not wait to hear his answer to what he called an 'insolent and overbearing speech.' Next day Pitt excused himself to Grenville, saying that he meant no discourtesy, but was too ill to stay. (*Grenville Papers*, iii, 231.)

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against repeal. To Rockingham, who asked for an explanation, he had shuffled out of this position, but his real feelings were well known at Court. On the other hand the commercial community were clamorous for repeal: all trade with America had suddenly ceased; orders had been cancelled, and debts amounting, it was said, to over four millions sterling could not be collected; the distress had spread to the English manufacturing districts, where work had been reduced owing to the cessation of American trade. On the eventful day the lobby of the House, the Court of Requests and all the avenues were beset with American merchants eager to hear the issue. Pitt, though still suffering from gout in the leg, wrote to Lady Chatham: 'I must get up to the House as I can; when I am in my place I feel I am tolerably able to remain through the debate and cry Aye! to the repeal with no sickly voice.' The debate was long. Pitt, as usual now, followed Grenville. 'Begging to stand a feeble isthmus between English partiality and American violence,' he was in most conciliatory mood. He knew the danger which the bill ran, and did his utmost to quiet the fears of those who, having already voted for the right of taxation, feared that the repeal of the Stamp Act might be taken as a sign of weakness. While reiterating his conviction that Parliament had no right to lay internal taxes on America, he reassured the weaker members by emphasizing his resolution to keep the colonists subordinate in other forms of legislation. His efforts were crowned with success: at half past one in the morning the Committee divided and gave leave for the repeal by 275 to 167. As the ministers filed out into the lobby after the division Conway was received with enthusiastic huzzas by the waiting crowds: when Pitt hobbled out on crutches, gaunt, alone, the crowds were hushed to silence and reverently took off their hats to him, then burst out into uncontrollable shouts of triumph. 'Joy to you, my dear love,' wrote Lady Chatham when she heard the news; 'the joy of thousands is yours, under Heaven, who has crowned your endeavours with such happy success. I will hope that . . . what you saw yesterday and what . . . you *heard*, the gratitude of a rescued people, have

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cured you'; and for the first time the children could enter into the triumph. Hester and John were pleased: 'eager Mr. William' was bound to be so. To Pitt, now for a moment his old self once more, it was pure joy.

Happy indeed [he responded on the same day] was the scene of this glorious morning . . . when the sun of liberty shone once more upon a country, too long benighted. My dear love, not all the applauding joy which the hearts of animated gratitude saved from despair and bankruptcy, uttered in the lobby could touch me, in any degree, like the tender and lively delight, which breathes in your warm and affectionate note . . . Wonder not if I should find myself in a placid and sober fever, for tumultuous exultation you know I think not permitted to feeble mortal successes. . . . Thanksgivings to protecting Heaven, for all our happy deliverances!'

One more effort was required before the good work was perfected. On March 4 the Bill declaratory of Parliament's legislative right, and the Stamp Act Repeal Bill were brought up for third reading. On the first he made a last appeal to the House to leave out the phrase implying a right of taxation. March 4, 1766.

I am no overheated enthusiastic leveller [he said] . . . but a solitary unconversing man, and not a very reading man either; but I love old books and old friends, and, though my books and my opinions may be nonsensical, I shall adhere to them; and I never gave my dissent with more dislike to a question than I now give at present.

On the repeal of the Stamp Act, which was now assured, he had little to say beyond expressing a doubt

if there would have been a minister to be found who would have dared to dip the royal ermines in the blood of the Americans for such an act. This country, like a fine horse, to use a beautiful expression of Job, whose neck is clothed in thunder—if you soothe and stroke it you may do anything; but if an unskilful rider takes it in hand, he will find that, though not vicious, yet it has tricks. I repeat it, I never had greater satisfaction than in the repeal of this Act.

The Americans who had pinned their faith to Pitt as their deliverer had not been deceived, and when news of the repeal came to them they justly attributed nearly all the merit to him. The triumph of the war-minister was eclipsed by that of

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the champion of liberty. The clergy from the pulpit chanted his praises. Mr. Appleton of Boston dedicated his thanksgiving sermon to Mr. Pitt, who, he said, 'in spite of his chronical grievous malady of body appeared in that august assembly in all his flannels.'[1] 'To you,' said Mayhew, apostrophizing him, 'grateful America attributes that she is reinstated in her former liberties. America calls you over and over again her father; live long in health, happiness and honour; be it late when you must cease to plead the cause of liberty on earth.'[2] In most of the towns of America news of the repeal and of Pitt's great speech was hailed with popular rejoicing. Charleston was illuminated on May 5 and loyal toasts were drunk to the King, 'the great patriot Mr. Pitt, and our worthy friends in England.' At New York on the King's birthday an ox was roasted whole, the quality met at a public dinner, beer and grog were distributed to the populace, and a St. George's flag was shown with a large board inscribed 'George, Pitt and Liberty,' 'the word Pitt the most distinguished.' Several assemblies formally thanked Pitt, and statues of him were erected at the public expense at Dedham in Massachusetts, Charleston, and New York.[3] In the first outburst of joy at the repeal of the Stamp Act the Americans hardly noticed Pitt's failure to expunge from the Declaratory Act the ominous words implying that such taxation might be reimposed; they passed over his own stern phrase about forbidding them to manufacture a hobnail or a horseshoe.

Preoccupied as he was during this session by the overwhelming grievances of the Americans, Pitt did not forget the mistakes of the last Ministry in England. At the request of Dowdeswell, Chancellor of the Exchequer, he came to second a motion for repealing the inquisitorial provisions of the cider tax, and by his advocacy persuaded the House to reverse its

March 7, 1766.

[1] There is a copy of this sermon in the *Chatham MSS.*, 'Dedicated to the Rt. Hon. William Pitt, Esq.; all the Friends of Virtue and Patrons of Freedom.'

[2] T. Hollis received eight copies of Dr. Mayhew's 'master-sermon,' one of which he forwarded to Pitt.

[3] See note at end of chapter on some statues of Pitt erected in America, with references for details of the rejoicings.

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previous decision. He also took up the question of general warrants and search warrants which the abortive debates of February 1764 had left in suspense.[1] On April 22, 1766, these warrants were declared illegal in cases of libel. But this restricted condemnation did not go far enough for Pitt: to settle the question once for all, he moved that 'a general warrant for seizing and apprehending any person or persons, being illegal except in cases provided for by act of Parliament, is, if executed upon a member of this House, a breach of the privilege of this House,' a comprehensive resolution which protected the subject as well as the member of Parliament against the arbitrary exercise of authority. In the debate Norton and other prerogative lawyers still quibbled on the liberty of the subject and exhibited a Westminster Hall insolence; but the general feeling had much changed within two years, and even Grenville, in a wonderful spring-tide of liberty, pledged himself to support Pitt. In a speech, of which it was said that 'no man ever rode a better-dressed horse, or brought him up to the object which made him snort, with more address than the rider did upon that occasion,' Pitt easily triumphed over all opposition to his motion. April 22-25, 1766.

Twice Pitt thought it necessary to oppose the Ministry, once on their commercial reforms,[2] and again on his favourite militia, which had always been derided, if not feared, by Hardwicke and Newcastle and their school. Dowdeswell now refused to propose the necessary funds for it, and though Onslow, another lord of the Treasury, brought up the vote, it had been severely cut down. Pitt was up in arms at once, and, by his threats to go to the farthest corner of the island to overturn any ministers who were the enemies of the militia, forced them to propose the full amount needed for its establishment.[3] Pitt indeed was not satisfied with the Ministry. April 17, 1766.

[1] See above, p. 166.

[2] See above, p. 183.

[3] See *Chatham Corr.* ii, 412, and Walpole, *George III.* Walpole, though invaluable for his reports of speeches, is never to be trusted in his account of motives. His comment on Pitt's speech, 'This was all grimace: he did not care a jot about the militia,' is ludicrous. Another eyewitness wrote that 'Pitt behaved nobly in the militia business.' (*Historical MSS. Commission*, XIV, ix, 299.)

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They were an undistinguished set of men to be rulers of a great nation and had not shown any capacity or initiative. Their greatest achievements for liberty had been dragged out of them by Pitt. Even where he could collaborate with them he felt little confidence in their sincerity, while the divergence of opinion on the parliamentary right of taxation cut very deep. The party complexion of the Ministry was, in his eyes, another unpardonable defect. In the last great debate on the repeal of the Stamp Act he had made this plain.

March 4, 1766. A few days before Grenville and Bedford had made an abject attempt to regain Bute's favour and had been haughtily repulsed, Bute telling them that he would not factiously oppose the King's ministers. Pitt rallied Grenville on this rebuff, of which, he said, 'a bird in the air' had told him. Grenville retorted that another bird had reported Pitt's interviews with the King and Bute. But the Bute bugbear had no more terrors for Pitt. Though unwilling to see Bute a minister he condemned Grenville's persecution of Bute's relations and, much to the excitement of the quidnuncs, praised Bute as a man.[1] Then, turning to the Whigs, he declared himself as ready to co-operate with the Tories as in the days of the war, when they had zealously supported his measures.

> In England [he said] there are two possible varieties of ministry. One consists of men in favour with the public, the other of men in favour at Court. I have come to the conclusion that a combination of the two kinds would produce the best ministry.

For these reasons Pitt steadily ignored Rockingham's renewed attempts to sound him for a place in the Ministry, all the more since they were made in the grudging and almost condescending 'tone of a minister, master of the Court and of the public: making opening to men who are seekers of offices and candidates for ministry'; and at last he sternly replied that he was 'under an impossibility of conferring upon the

[1] Pitt had been pleased with Bute's declaration in the House of Lords on February 6, that 'the King himself would not blame him or other lords for obeying the dictates of their conscience on important affairs of state' (quoted in Bancroft).

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matter of administration without his Majesty's commands.'[1] In a speech at the end of the session he laid down publicly the terms on which he could engage to take office. This speech is also memorable for its solemn farewell to the House. When Pitt delivered it he seemed to have a foreboding that he would not have many more opportunities of addressing those among whom for thirty years he had reigned supreme.

I am going [he said] on account of my health first to Bath and then to a place still farther off. I know not when I shall return again to this House, but I wish, for the sake of our dear country, that all our factions might cease. I could wish that a ministry might be fixed, such as the King should appoint and the public approve; that in it men might be properly adapted to the employments they are appointed to, and whose names are known in Europe, to convey an idea of dignity to this Government both at home and abroad. If ever I were again admitted, as I have been, into the Royal presence, it would be independent of any personal connection whatsoever. April 24, 1766.

Pitt was soon called upon to put these doctrines into practice. A few days after he had left for Bath, Grafton resigned office on the ground that without Pitt the administration had no strength or solidity. 'Under him,' Grafton told the House of Lords, 'I should be willing to serve in any capacity, not only as a general officer, but as a pioneer; and for him I would take up the spade and mattock.' His place was filled by the Duke of Richmond, another great-grandson of Charles II. But Northington, the Chancellor, saw that it would not do. He cavilled and growled at every measure brought before the Cabinet, and, when asked his opinion on the constitution for the new provinces in America, intimated to his colleagues that they were not fit to decide upon it. Finally he went to the King and advised him to send for Pitt. By this time Pitt's various offences had been wiped out in the royal breast by his 'dutiful and handsome conduct in the summer,' when he had made allusion to his former interviews with the King and had declared for the abolition of factions. On July 8 George III wrote directly to him, desiring his thoughts on 'an able and

[1] *Chatham Corr.* ii, 397–402; Fitzmaurice, *Shelburne*, i, 260–4.

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dignified ministry' formed on the principles of his speech of April 24. Pitt at once answered the call, travelling to London post-haste from Burton Pynsent. On July 11 he arrived to accept once more the task of forming a ministry entirely according to his own ideas.

Note on some Statues of Pitt in America

I. Only the base now remains of the Pitt statue erected at Dedham, Mass. (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* 2nd series, iv, 298.)

II. The New York statue was petitioned for by a meeting of citizens held at Burns's Coffee House on June 23, 1766. The marble statue representing Pitt in a Roman toga was put up in Wall Street to the order of the Assembly on September 7, 1770. It had the following inscription on the base:

'This statue of the Rt. Hon. William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, was erected as a public testimony of the grateful sense the colony of New York retains of the many eminent services he rendered to America, particularly in promoting the repeal of the Stamp Act. A.D. 1770.'

In 1775 some English soldiers cut off the head and right hand of the statue. In 1863 the headless trunk was still standing at the corner of Franklin Street and West Broadway (*ibid.* 292).

III. The House of Assembly of ~~North~~ South Carolina voted £1000 for a marble statue of Pitt to be erected in Charleston, because of 'the great veneration and respect they have for his person and the obligations they lie under, in common with the rest of His Majesty's American subjects, as well for his services in general to his King and country as for his noble, disinterested, and generous assistance towards obtaining the repeal of the Stamp Act.' Garth, their agent in London, writing on July 9, 1766, says he has consulted Pitt on the sculptor: Roubiliac being dead, Wilton and Reid were the best sculptors left, and Pitt had chosen Wilton, who had recently finished the statue for Cork (see above, p. 121). On May 17, 1770, the statue arrived at Charleston in the Carolina packet, the owners having refused to charge freight for it. It was put up amidst public rejoicings in the public square, and in the evening a banquet was held at which forty-five toasts were given. In 1780 the right arm was shot off by a cannon ball from an English ship. In 1794 it was removed to make room for the traffic, and during removal was guillotined by some Franco-phil enthusiasts. In 1808 it was re-erected, and in 1881 restored and set up in the City Park. It seems to

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have been a replica of the Cork statue. (*Magazine of American History*, vol. 8, pp. 214 *sqq.*, and see also frontispiece to Kimball.)

Winsor ('History of America,' vi, 109) mentions a portrait of Pitt subscribed for by a meeting held at Worcester Court House. It was painted by Peele of Maryland from Wilton's statue. It is now in the House of Delegates at Richmond.

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CHAPTER XXII

CHATHAM'S MINISTRY

Now see that noble and most sovereign reason,
Like sweet bells jangled, out of tune and harsh.
SHAKESPEARE, *Hamlet*, iii, 1.

I.—THE ATTEMPT AT UNION

'LUD-A-MERCY! going at such a rate!' exclaimed honest Smith, one of Pitt's servants, when he met his master four miles out of Marlborough, driving hell-for-leather to London in obedience to the King's commands. To one in Pitt's frail health the pace was killing; and he was already in a fever when he arrived on Friday July 11. Long interviews with the King on Saturday and with Conway on Sunday made him worse. On Monday he was so ill that he left his friends the Hoods, with whom he had been staying in Harley Street, and accepted a certain Charles Dingley's kindly offer of his house at North End on Hampstead Heath, where the air was cooler and more invigorating. Here on Wednesday Temple came to see him and discuss a renewed offer of the Treasury. Their talk, which was long and stormy, was begun at North End House and continued during an airing they took on the Heath in Pitt's coach. Temple was prepared to give up the pretensions to office of his brother George Grenville, with whom he was now closely allied, but for himself required equality if not superiority to Pitt. He wanted a Treasury Board of his own choosing, a place for Lyttelton and a secretaryship of State for Gower, one of Bedford's adherents. But Pitt was resolved to

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choose his own ministry: when it was formed he and Temple might go *pari passu*, but not before. Lyttelton he contemptuously offered to console with a pension, he would not admit Gower as Secretary of State, and he refused to turn out all Rockingham's Treasury Board. Under such conditions 'I should go in like a child, to go out like a fool,' angrily ejaculated Temple, and went off next day to Stowe full of spite and jealousy, which he confided to the world in a bitter pamphlet compiled by two docile hacks. So ends Temple's political connection with Pitt, a connection thus savagely summed up by one of Pitt's supporters: 'Had he not fastened himself into Mr. Pitt's train, and acquired thereby such an interest in the great man, he might have crept out of life with as little notice as he crept in; and gone off with no other degree of credit, than that of adding a single unit to the bills of mortality.'[1] But though the political loss to Pitt was not great, he was deeply affected by the breach with his old companion. The quarrel left him so ill and exhausted that for several days he could see nobody, and his wife had to hurry up from Somersetshire to nurse him back to strength.

The plan upon which Pitt and the King were agreed was to form a ministry so comprehensive that no faction or party could claim a predominance. Their aims, no doubt, were different. George III regarded the destruction of party as the means of acquiring uncontrolled power for the patriot king: Pitt, by abolishing faction, wished to unite all for the common task of forwarding his own national policy. This was no new ideal, but the one he had long struggled towards in the days of Walpole, Carteret, and the Pelhams.[2] In his previous ministries he had carried with him Tories as well as Whigs, but the experience of 1757 had taught him that even so he was powerless without Newcastle's organized votes. Now he hoped,

[1] Temple's pamphlet was *An Enquiry into the Conduct of a late Rt. Hon. Commoner*, written by Cotes and Almon, but containing details of private conversations which could only have been known to Temple. This pamphlet was answered in *A short view . . . of a late Rt. Hon. Commoner*, and *Seasonable Reflections*, &c. Temple's view was also restated in *An Examination of the Principles and Boasted Disinterestedness of a late Rt. Hon. Gentleman*.

[2] See vol. i, pp. 128–9.

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by enlisting support from every section, to put his Ministry on so broad a basis that it would no longer be dependent on the good humour of the strongest party leader. The time appeared ripe for such an experiment. Most of the questions of principle which had lately divided parties seemed settled: the Stamp Act had been repealed; the liberty of the subject had been vindicated by the recent resolution on general warrants; even the Peace of Paris could not now be upset, while the growing strength of the Bourbon Powers was becoming an almost unanswerable argument for Pitt's policy of a northern alliance. On the other hand problems had arisen for which the co-operation of all good citizens was urgently needed. The affairs of the East India Company had to be regulated and their rights in conquered territory determined. The government of Canada was still unsettled, the affections of America not yet recovered. At home there was distress from bad harvests, with general restlessness and discontent. Pitt hoped by another broad-bottom administration to inaugurate a period of repose and orderly reform as necessary to the country now as in Pelham's day after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

After Temple's refusal Pitt had little further difficulty in forming his Cabinet. Of the late ministers Conway, the Secretary of State for the Northern Department and Northington alone were retained. Conway had warmly welcomed Pitt's opening on American policy and had always been anxious for a less exclusively Whig Ministry, and he was looked upon as a hostage for the good behaviour of his old associates. Northington, the friend of the King and of all ministries at the outset, was consoled for the loss of the Chancellorship by the Presidency of the Council, a pension and a lucrative reversion. Camden, the upholder of liberty from the Bench, who had added another claim to Pitt's favour by making a 'divine'[1] speech in the House of Lords against the pretended right to tax America, succeeded Northington as Lord Chancellor.

[1] The epithet was Pitt's. In this debate Camden found only four young peers to vote with him, and much ridicule was cast on 'the popular judge who seriously and *bona fide* joined in opinion with four boys in opposition to 125 sensible men' who upheld the right of taxation. (*Caldwell Papers*, iii, 70.)

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Grafton's devotion to Pitt was rewarded by the offer of the Treasury, which he accepted after some demur. For his own old post of Secretary of State for the Southern Department Pitt proposed Shelburne, whose views on America coincided with his own, and after some difficulty overcame the King's objection to the appointment. These five, with Pitt at their head, formed the Cabinet as he originally designed it. With such a cabinet Pitt had once more the prospect of 'agreeable conversations.'[1] 'If ever a cabinet,' wrote the French envoy to Choiseul, 'can hope for the rare privilege of unanimity, it is this, in which Pitt will see none but persons whose imagination he has subjugated, whose premature advancement is due to his choice, whose expectations of permanent fortune rest on him alone.'[2] Apart from Pitt and Northington it was a singularly young cabinet, and was composed of men untrammelled by past traditions, full of hope and confidence in their great leader, and inspired by a genuine love of liberty.

Its great weakness lay in the House of Commons. Conway was amiable but weak; he was no statesman and had none of the qualities of a leader. This would have mattered little had Pitt remained to lead him and the House. But this was not to be. To the surprise of his colleagues Pitt chose for himself the post of Lord Privy Seal, an ancient office of dignity, to which no active duties are attached.[3] But on July 28, when the Cabinet went to St. James's to kiss hands, their surprise was turned to consternation. Grafton arrived to find Pitt in the Closet, and Camden and Northington outside holding an agitated conversation. Had Grafton heard, they asked, that Mr. Pitt was leaving the House of Commons by his own wish, and that an earldom had been conferred upon him? No, answered Grafton, it was news to him; and it came to him with as great a

[1] See above, p. 123. [2] Bancroft, iii, 225.

[3] The salary of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was £1,175 per annum with a daily allowance of sixteen dishes of meat. This perquisite was, in accordance with the usual custom, commuted for a payment of £4 a day. (See Record Office, *King's Warrant Book* 58—Warrant to Treasury of August 11, 1766.) But Chatham was not a good bargainer for himself. The Privy Seal he succeeded had enjoyed £4,000 a year instead of under £3,000. (*Chatham MSS.* 31, Dingley to Lady Chatham.)

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shock as to the others. To all of them the whole strength of the Ministry seemed to depend on Pitt's presence in the House of Commons: in the Lords he would lose half his power and all the popularity he owed to his greatest title, The Great Commoner. They were interrupted in these gloomy reflections by the sudden appearance from the Closet of Pitt, who, without vouchsafing a word of explanation, told them that the measure was fixed and left them to make the best of it. Next day the King wrote to Pitt that he had signed the warrant for his peerage in the full confidence 'that the Earl of Chatham will zealously give his aid towards destroying all party distinctions, and restoring that subordination to Government which can alone preserve that inestimable blessing, Liberty, from degenerating into Licentiousness.' On July 30 it was announced in the *Gazette* that William Pitt had been advanced to the dignities of a viscount and earl of Great Britain by the titles of 'Viscount Pitt of Burton Pynsent and Earl of Chatham in the county of Kent.'

The forebodings of Chatham's Cabinet were not far wrong. The almost universal feeling about his change of style was conveyed to him in the blunt words of an old soldier wounded in his wars: 'My lord,' wrote Major Corry from Bandon, near Cork, 'I will be plain and honest with you and tell you numbers of the first people here are displeased at your accepting of a peerage, as you could not be more honourable than you were.'[1] Pitt's enemies were not so gentle in their expression of disapproval. The pension and the peerage to his wife were raked up once more; all his personal characteristics: his gout, his love of pomp, his use of long words and of high-sounding phrases, his occasional obscurity of language, his seclusion, his inheritances, were again cast in his teeth in hundreds of lampoons, squibs, pamphlets, pasquinades, epigrams, ribald puns and jests, satires, heroic and pastoral poems and caricatures. The ghosts of Pulteney, Earl of Bath, the Duchess of Marlborough and Sir William Pynsent were raised to convict him of deserting his principles and betraying his country. 'I will not censure him, says one, 'for the avarice of a pension

[1] *Chatham MSS.* 27 (October 21, 1766).

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nor the melancholy ambition of a title. These were objects which he perhaps looked up to, though the rest of the world thought them far beneath his acceptance.'

Here dead to fame lies Patriot Will,
His monument his seat,
His title are his epitaph
His robes his winding sheet,

sang another.[1] Burke wrote to Rockingham with malicious joy from Dublin: 'there is still a twilight of popularity round the great peer, but it fades away every moment, and the people here, who, in general, only reflect back the impressions of London, are growing quite out of humour with him.' Even his friends hung their heads. The poet Gray and Thomas Hollis the antiquarian reflected the disappointment of sober non-party men, and talked of him as 'totally lost in parchment and Butism'; the City, which had ordered illuminations to celebrate his return to power, countermanded them; Frederic the Great lamented the loss of influence from his peerage. Choiseul likened him to Samson with his hair cut; his joy at his great adversary's unpopularity was only tempered by the fear that he might engage in provocative measures to restore himself in the people's favour.[2]

This violent ebullition of malice and disappointment is one of the greatest tributes to the hold which the Great Commoner had gained over the imagination of the people. In the House of Commons he had championed their cause, and by accepting a peerage he was thought guilty of an act of desertion.

[1] Many of these effusions are to be found in *The New Foundling Hospital for Wit. A Genuine Collection of . . . Pieces* (London, 1766) purports to be a complete collection of squibs both for and against Chatham, the latter vastly preponderating. The following is a characteristic 'Advertizement': 'Lost or Mislaid; Two ounces and a half of *Popularity* wrapp'd up in an old city address. Whoever has found the same and will bring it to Ephraim Dingle Dangle, at the luminated House near North End shall be rewarded with an old Black Mask, a pair of Old Crutches and the Shoe part of an Old Jack Boot.' The collection extends to 102 pages of close print. Among the pamphlets may be noted: *Pynsent's Ghost*; *A Letter from William, E. of Bath in the Shades, to William, E. of Chatham, at Court*; *A Vindication of the Conduct of the late Right Hon. Commoner*; *An Examination of the Principles of a late Right Hon. Gentleman*. The British Museum also contains many caricatures of this period on Chatham and his peerage.

[2] Fitzmaurice, *Shelburne*, i, 282, and *Aff. Etr. Angl. Cor. Pol.* 471, f. 34.

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The belief was natural. The House of Commons, though not a truly representative body, and liable to corruption, could, under the sway of a great orator like Pitt, show considerable independence at times of national crisis. The House of Lords, on the other hand, in spite of the enormous influence of individual peers, had hardly more direct power than its present successor, while the secrecy of its conclaves enabled it to exercise less effect on public opinion than is possible to-day with its amply reported debates. By retiring 'to contemplate the tapestry' Pitt not only lost prestige but also the power of imposing his will on the only branch of the legislature that could compete with the power of the Crown. In the first session of his Ministry this was made manifest. When he wanted to elicit the opinion of the Commons on high questions of policy and to guide them to a right conclusion he could no longer act for himself, but had to delegate the task to Beckford, who proved a poor substitute.

Nevertheless Pitt judged this sacrifice of power and popularity to be necessary. He was still under the delusion that his most redoubtable foe was the old Whig oligarchy, whose stronghold was in the Lords, since Fox and the King had made the Whigs powerless in the House of Commons. He may well have thought that Grafton and Shelburne, without enough experience to stand up against Newcastle and Rockingham, needed his help more than Conway. Had Temple represented him in the Lords he might still have attempted to guide the House of Commons, for, when he saw Temple at North End House, he does not seem to have said anything about taking a peerage.[1]

[1] In a sketch of a ministry in *Chatham MSS.* 74, obviously drawn up during the Rockingham Ministry, Pitt contemplated a third Secretary of State, apparently for America, and intended to take the post himself as a commoner. The three secretaries in this sketch are thus allocated: Lord Shelburne, Northern Dep.; Duke of Richmond, Southern Dep.; Mr. Pitt, American Dep. When he saw Temple, however, he had made up his mind to take the Privy Seal (see *Grenville Papers*, iii, 267, 274). Had he then resolved to go to the House of Lords, Temple, who was decrying Pitt's administration to all his correspondents, would certainly have drawn attention to it in those letters. It was then no doubt usual for the Lord Privy Seal to be a peer. But, besides the unusual case of a bishop holding the office in Queen Anne's reign, Sir Nicholas Bacon and Windebank, both commoners, had held it under Elizabeth. In more recent times Disraeli, Gladstone, and Mr. Balfour have held the office while in the House of Commons.

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But his health, which was the second consideration, would not have allowed him to continue the experiment for many months. He had neither the unruffled serenity of a Palmerston nor the inexhaustible vitality of a Gladstone; and had there been no other warnings, his prostration after the journey from Somersetshire must have shown him that he was no longer fit to take part in long and hotly contested debates while also responsible for the government of the country. Apart from all considerations of expediency, he was not indifferent to the dignity of an earldom, which carried with it the right to call the King cousin and to kiss his cheek. The pomp and circumstance of 'thrones, dominations, princedoms' had always appealed to his imagination; and it seemed to him no mean privilege to share in the proud traditions of an aristocracy, to whom the nation owed the great charter of its liberty, and whose descendants still formed the most public-spirited and capable governing class in Europe. The dignity of an earldom harmonized, too, with his conception of the place he was to hold in the Ministry and the government of the country. Burke's apostrophe to the 'Great Minister . . . far above our view, . . . that rules and governs over all,' contained an element of truth in its bitter satire. Other ministers were to do the work of their departments; the Earl of Chatham was to be Prime Minister, untroubled with details, but supreme. In the old days Pitt had thundered against 'a sole minister,' whether called Walpole or Carteret. But then his grievance had been that the will of the nation was flouted. He himself meant to be as masterful in administration as any Carteret, but withal to give the Grand Inquest of the nation an unfettered choice of the policy to be adopted. In spite of his peerage, and in spite of his autocracy in the Cabinet, Pitt remained true to parliamentary government. In time he recovered the authority and prestige he for the moment lost; and the great Earl of Chatham became almost as dear to Englishmen as William Pitt, the Great Commoner.

The rest of the Ministry was not so easy to compose as the Cabinet. In accepting the Treasury Grafton had made it a condition that Charles Townshend should be his Chancellor of the

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Exchequer and had insisted on this in spite of warnings from Chatham, who knew Townshend's unstable nature. Townshend's behaviour, when the offer was made to him, proved how right Chatham was; as Paymaster he had a more lucrative office, and first he would, then would not, accept the more exalted post; at last he consented, and, before many weeks had passed, also obtained a seat in the Cabinet. The Rockingham Whigs proved a serious difficulty; while unwilling to recognise their claims as a party, Chatham was anxious to retain many of them as individuals. But Rockingham was not accommodating. Indignant at his own summary dismissal, he shut his door in Chatham's face when the Prime Minister came to discuss arrangements with him. Though he encouraged Conway to remain in the Cabinet, Rockingham regarded him as being there solely to represent the party's interests. Dowdeswell refused an offer of a place with scant courtesy;[1] Burke kept out of the way to avoid an offer;[2] Charles Yorke once more resigned the post of Attorney-General. Even those who took office in August revolted in November because Chatham turned out Lord Edgcumbe, one of their number, to make room for Jack Shelley, a new adherent. The party then met at dinner at Lord Rockingham's and deputed Conway to ask for an explanation from Lord Chatham 'of the affronts put upon them . . . to demand some satisfaction for the same, and to promise, upon these points being settled, firm and solid support.'[3] On Chatham's answer, 'that he meant not to treat with any set of men as a party,' Portland, Scarbrough, Bessborough, Monson, Meredith, and even Pitt's old admirals, Saunders and Keppel, resigned in a body. Chatham was no more successful in securing representatives of the Bedford faction. Though he would not have Bedford's relation Gower

[1] The story that Chatham told Dowdeswell an office was open to him, if he chose, but that he must decide within a few hours, is disproved by Dowdeswell's own account in *Cavendish Debates*, i, 580.

[2] Burke need not have put himself out, for Chatham would not entertain Grafton's suggestion that he should go to the Board of Trade, because 'his notions and maxims of trade [are] unsound and repugnant to every true principle of manufacture and commerce.'

[3] T. Robinson's Memoranda (*Wrest Park MSS.*).

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as Secretary of State, yet on the principle that he would 'make no exceptions to men, except so far as their own characters pointed it out,'[1] he offered him the Admiralty.[2] Gower consulted his chief, who, like Rockingham, would not have his party split up. In October Chatham met Bedford at Bath and opened a fresh negotiation with him. Bedford had no fault to find with Chatham's policy but was not satisfied with the places offered to him, and, though Chatham explained that on his 'conciliating plan' he could make no more vacancies, declined all office on the ground that the offers to his party were insufficient 'for the weight and consideration they assume to themselves without vanity.' Next month, after the desertion of the Rockingham Whigs, Chatham again offered places to Gower, Weymouth, and Rigby. But in addition Bedford demanded a Garter for this man, a 'stick' for that man, and a peerage for a third, with half a dozen other favours, to the disgust of both Chatham and the King, who thereupon broke off the negotiation.

The task which Chatham had set himself of picking and choosing the best men out of every party to form his Ministry was in any case almost impossible; its only chance of success would have been by the exercise of extraordinary tact and conciliation; and these were singularly lacking in his methods. In making his plans for the inclusion or exclusion of individuals he consulted nobody but the King. To all comers he spoke dictatorially of his own power, of the King's confidence in him and of his conviction that he should never lose it. Though fully aware, he said, of the run there was against him, he was entirely unaffected by it and boasted that faction would not shake the Closet or gain the public.[3] As 'the great disposer' of places he showed an arrogance which the haughty Whig lords were little inclined to brook from a new peer even of

[1] *Chatham Corr.* iii, 55.

[2] When Chatham came into office, Egmont resigned the Admiralty because he could not abide Chatham's superiority. The place was then offered to Gower and, on his refusal, to Saunders, who accepted. When Saunders resigned in November with most of his Board, Sir Edward Hawke, another of Pitt's fighting admirals, was given the post.

[3] Winstanley, *Chatham and the Whig Opposition*, p. 56, and Mahon, v, Appendix p. xii.

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Chatham's eminence. It was noted by an enemy that 'the great oratorial humbugger of England,' when he took the air, drove 'in a gay and flaunting equipage with four brilliant cane-bearing valets behind.'[1] His frequent illnesses increased his irritability and by often making him invisible forced him to have recourse to letters where he showed to even less advantage. Thus in the main he failed of his purpose. So far from uniting all parties on national objects he was obliged to patch up a Ministry by a distribution of pensions and reversions on an almost unprecedented scale: Northington and Camden were given lucrative expectations; Ligonier and several others were pensioned as an inducement to give up their offices; and, according to one unfriendly pamphleteer, 'the total of the expense of the present ministerial fabric as far as the ground floor' was £215,200.[2] Of the Rockingham Whigs Conway alone adhered to him, but was always a hesitating follower; of the Bedford and Grenville factions none. Besides his own personal followers, Grafton, Camden, Shelburne, Barré,[3] the Ministry was almost entirely made up of 'King's Friends,' men of no distinguished capacity and of no pronounced views for the public beyond what the King enjoined upon them; it was

> an administration checkered and speckled; a piece of joinery crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed; a cabinet variously inlaid; a piece of diversified mosaic; a tesselated pavement without cement; here a bit of black stone and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers, king's friends and republicans; whigs and tories; treacherous friends and open enemies—

so Burke described it in the speech which, however, also contained the noble tribute to Lord Chatham's 'great and celebrated name; a name that keeps the name of this country respectable in every other on the globe

> Clarum et venerabile nomen
> Gentibus, et multum nostrae quod proderat urbi.'

[1] *The Trial of England's Cicero* (1767).
[2] *Short Considerations upon some late Extraordinary Grants* (London, 1766).
[3] Vice-Treasurer of Ireland.

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II.—Chatham's Failure

Chatham had failed in his first object, of destroying faction, but, had health been granted him, he might still have made good his boast in the House of Lords 'that he could look the proudest connection in the face.' While Chatham was well and about, George III for once in his life allowed himself to be entirely guided by his minister; and the Cabinet acted simply as Chatham's mouthpiece. The French envoy remarked that his colleagues paid him as much deference as if he were the King, and that Conway's and Shelburne's language was a mere echo of his;[1] the Prussian envoy gives a picture of the members of the Cabinet waiting in an ante-chamber of the palace, while Chatham was in the Closet, and then, as he came out, pressing round him with pen and paper to take down his least commands.[2] Grafton was lost in admiration of his masterly exposition of foreign politics, and says they were all inspired to carry out his views; even Charles Townshend was awed, and, walking home with Grafton after his first Cabinet, exclaimed, 'What inferior animals the rest of us appear before Lord Chatham's transcendent superiority!'[3] Chatham soon had to retire to Bath to drink the waters, but even there, with Camden and Northington in attendance, made his sick-bed the real seat of government. Grafton and the Secretaries of State referred every question of importance to his decision; and, though the gout was crippling him in every limb, he still issued orders, saw newly appointed ambassadors, and sought confidential information from every quarter.[4]

The old fire, with which he used to kindle the spirit of all who went into his presence, still burned. When Sir James Gray, his old schoolfellow, came to see him, in doubt whether to accept the embassy to Spain, Chatham's words soon evoked

[1] *Aff. Etr. Angl. Cor. Pol.* 471, ff. 2, 1o.

[2] Ruville, *Pitt und Bute*, p. 114.

[3] Grafton, *Memoirs*, p. 105.

[4] See his correspondence with Rochford, Hans Stanley, and Mitchell in the *Chatham Corr.*, and his letters to and from Shelburne and other ministers there and in Fitzmaurice. He even pumped Horace Walpole on the state of feeling in Paris, whence he had lately returned.

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'a true zeal for the King's service and a cheerful and zealous attachment to the great business with which he was charged.'[1] He showed the same care as in his last Ministry for the contentment and efficiency of the services. To the old war minister the thunder of cannon was 'greatly preferable to a concert of music,' as he said in the gun-room of Portland Castle,[2] and the state of both army and navy gave him grave concern. He had left the fleet superior to the united fleets of France and Spain, but after five years he found from a report drawn up for him that the Bourbon allies had eighty-three ships ready and eighteen more on the stocks, to England's sixty-two.[3] He told Bedford that the navy must be strengthened at all costs, and took care to have admirals whom he could trust in charge of the Admiralty. He also took personal interest in the grievances of naval officers, corresponding directly on the subject with the Secretary of the Admiralty and chalking out the lines of the proposed reforms.[4] The army, which at the end of the Seven Years' War he had left a well-tempered instrument, had become blunted for want of discipline. In Ireland the 'pernicious partialities' of members of Parliament governed the course of promotion: in England also politics had been allowed to interfere with appointments, and Lord Ligonier had become too old to exercise proper authority as commander-in-chief. Much to his disappointment Chatham was unable to persuade Sir Jeffrey Amherst to take over the Irish command, for which he was well fitted; but he dismissed Lord Ligonier with a pension, which became another grievance in the eyes of hostile scribes, and appointed in his stead the gallant Granby, whose service with Prince Ferdinand pointed him out as the man to restore order and discipline.

Another of his first duties, as in 1756, was to consider the

[1] *Lansdowne House MSS.* P. 27.

[2] *Chatham MSS.* 47 (W. Johnson, September 22, 1766).

[3] See states in 1766 of French navy in *Chatham MSS.* 85, Spanish, *ibid.* 93, and English, *ibid.* 79.

[4] Jackson to Chatham, December 25, 1766 (*Chatham MSS.* 46); Chatham to Jackson, December 28 (*Add. MSS.* 9344, f. 14). Chatham's proposal was to give 1*s.* a day extra to half-pay captains and lieutenants. He refused to consider further reforms suggested by Jackson, 'lest the bounty of the House should fail us and perhaps overset the first great point, the officers.'

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serious condition of the civil population. Distress, due to a succession of bad harvests, was again widespread, and in consequence riots of alarming violence were reported from many parts of the country.[1] To increase the supply of corn at home he authorized by Order in Council an embargo on all ships loaded with corn for export, although corn had not yet reached the price at which, under an act of 15 Charles II, this could legally be done. He justified this arbitrary action in legislating by proclamation on the ground that otherwise 'he should think himself guilty of neglecting the public safety.'[2] He was also urgent with Shelburne to take stern measures against the rioters, and pressed for the appointment of a special commission with extraordinary powers, 'in order to make one example in each county, highly proper and even absolutely necessary for the support of any reverence to law and government and to strike immediate awe into offenders.'[3] In the case of Ireland he was prepared to make good his words to Newcastle that 'measures of power or force would not be proper . . . to quiet the insurrections.'[4] One of the chief evils of the Irish Government came from the custom adopted by lords-lieutenant of spending most of their term of office in England, leaving the administration to a corrupt set of undertakers. In appointing his friend Bristol lord-lieutenant Chatham therefore stipulated that he should reside continuously in Ireland.[5] The Irish patriot Flood and his party proposed to remedy other grievances by septennial parliaments, an Irish Habeas Corpus Act, the independence of the judges, and a reform of the pension list. Chatham sent for Flood and had another talk with him, and though he failed to satisfy Flood, of whom he had no high opinion, he appears to have given

[1] Mrs. Boscawen, for example, told him of 2,500 rioters destroying mills and other property at Badminton. (*Chatham MSS.* 21.)

[2] Chatham was too ill to attend the Cabinet which advised the Order in Council, but sent his emphatic approval beforehand. He had stated the same principles twenty years earlier, when he was in opposition (see vol. i, p. 119).

[3] *Lansdowne House MSS.* P. 27.

[4] See above, p. 160.

[5] Bristol proved a broken reed. He drew the allowance for his equipage, but had not started two years later, when he was superseded by Lord Townshend with similar instructions.

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Bristol his approval of changes so entirely in agreement with his own views of justice and popular government.[1]

Foreign politics, however, absorbed most of his energy during the first five months of his Ministry. 'France is still the object of my mind whenever thought calls me back to a world infatuated, bewitched,' wrote Pitt a month before he was called from Somersetshire: and well he might. The Bourbons seemed to have fully recovered their power, and the counterpoise of a northern alliance was felt to be more than ever needed. Choiseul was bubbling over with energy and full of schemes for wiping out France's late humiliation. Since the peace he had taken over the Ministry of Marine, and, besides repairing the losses of the navy, had reformed the army and set the finances of the country on a sounder basis; he had now once more returned to the Foreign Office and was making his presence felt everywhere. In America he had his secret agents reporting to him on the disaffection of the colonists and the best means of assisting them when the inevitable rebellion should come.[2] He was setting the Corsicans by the ears and preparing, on the first excuse, to pounce down upon the island. He even meditated an invasion of England and sent spies to write exhaustive reports on landing-places and available sources of supply for an army marching to London.[3] Again, as in the last stage of his negotiation with Pitt, he was using questions at issue between England and Spain as a lever against England. Spain was still haggling about the payment of a ransom for Manila, promised in 1762, and objecting to the English claim on the Falkland Islands, and even to the right of English ships to sail in the Pacific; but the chief part in the negotiation on her behalf was being borne by Choiseul.

Chatham took the reins of foreign politics entirely into his

[1] See Grafton, *Memoirs*, pp. 157, 163. The Irish Parliament still lasted, without re-election, for a whole reign.

[2] See Bancroft.

[3] In 1767–8 Colonel Grant de Blairfindy was sent to make an extensive tour in the south of England; in 1768 Lieut.-Colonel de Béville was sent to supplement his information. Copies of Choiseul's instructions to these officers and of their elaborate reports came into Chatham's possession and are now in *Chatham MSS.* 86. See also *Transactions of Royal Historical Society*, 3rd series, iv.

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own hands. In August 1766 he ordered an expedition under Captain Byron to set sail for the Falkland Islands and establish our claims there by actual possession.[1] To secure another base of operations against France and Spain in the West Indies he directed that Pensacola, a port in Florida, which had been neglected since the Peace of Paris, should be strongly fortified; plans were also considered for strengthening the Mediterranean fleet against the French designs in Corsica. On November 20 and 22, 1766, Chatham had long interviews with Guerchy, the French ambassador, and on the 23rd with the Spanish ambassador, Prince Masserano, on the Spanish pretensions. Guerchy, who had never transacted business with him before, was immensely impressed by his frankness and simplicity. Chatham spoke to him

> as if he were haranguing the House of Commons . . . but though his periods were long they could not be taxed with prolixity, for every sentence was clear and to the point. He speaks French perfectly, but sometimes searches for a word to be certain of conveying his exact meaning . . . especially when his opinion differs from mine . . . although he never leaves a doubt as to his own intentions.

In the first interview Chatham declared that his anxiety for the northern alliance arose purely from motives of defence, not aggression, and, when Guerchy told him the Family Compact was also peaceful, asked why France did not induce her partner to respect honourable obligations and desist from objecting to the English right of sailing in the southern seas: 'England would sooner,' he said, recalling a famous phrase of his own,[2] 'consent to give up the Tower of London than abandon that right.' In the second interview he was equally polite but more uncompromising, for in the interval he had seen a new proposal from Choiseul suggesting that both disputes with Spain should be submitted to the arbitration of France. From that moment, said Chatham, all idea of accommodation by France he regarded as 'absolument évanouie'; to both Guerchy and Masserano he made it plain that if the ransom were paid and the right of England to navigate in the southern

[1] *Chatham MSS.* 79.

[2] See above, p. 95.

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seas were admitted he would be willing to desist from settling on the Falkland Islands. Choiseul was obviously frightened by his ambassador's reports and urged him to procure Chatham's fall. Chatham's illness soon saved him that trouble: otherwise Choiseul would inevitably have yielded to Chatham a recognition of rights which were only grudgingly conceded four years later on the threat of war.[1]

Choiseul would perhaps have yielded to Chatham's demand more readily in November, had it not been obvious by that time that the plan of a northern alliance with Prussia and Russia was likely to miscarry. This had been a darling object with Chatham since 1762: he had made it a condition in all his negotiations for office of 1763, 1765, and 1766, and, when he came to power, he at once set himself to bring it about. France then had not only Spain and Naples closely bound to her by treaty, but she could also still count on the Empress[2] and had Sweden in her pay; England, thanks to Bute, was entirely isolated. But in the north Chatham saw 'a great cloud of power, which should not be neglected': 'the first and main object of his Majesty's aim in all the northern courts,' wrote Chatham's Secretary of State, 'must be the entire overthrow of the French system.'[3] Full of his scheme and over-confident in his power to overcome all objections, Chatham named Hans Stanley for a special mission to Frederic and Catherine of Russia, without first discovering whether so public an overture would be agreeable to them. The only result of the appointment was the resignation in disgust of Macartney, the capable English ambassador at St. Petersburg, who had recently concluded a favourable commercial treaty; the reception ac-

[1] For an English account of these interviews and the negotiation generally see *Lansdowne House MSS.* vol. 30 (Shelburne to Rochford, November 29, 1766, and other correspondence). Durand's and Guerchy's reports to Choiseul on the interviews of November and on their view of English politics in the latter half of 1766 are contained in *Aff. Etr. Angl. Cor. Pol.* 471. Both the English and French accounts refer to Chatham's phrase 'absolument évanouie.' See also the Prussian envoy's reports in *Pol. Corr.* xxv.

[2] The alliance with the Empress was, it is true, then wearing thin, but it was not until Choiseul's fall that Maria Theresa allowed Joseph II to go over from France to Prussia.

[3] Conway to Gunning, December 19, 1766. (*Lansdowne House MSS.* vol. 30.)

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corded to Chatham's overtures was so little propitious that Stanley himself never started on his mission.

Frederic had long been aware of the English minister's anxiety to bring about this alliance. In November 1763 his envoy had reported a long conversation with Pitt, who had put forward his proposals with much force; and more recently Sir Andrew Mitchell had returned to Berlin fresh from two interviews with the great man at Hayes. But Frederic was then much more interested in the question of the Polish succession than in the troubles of England with France. He had arranged with Russia that on the next vacancy of the throne of Poland they should set up a candidate of their own in opposition to a Saxon candidate backed by the Empress. Pitt was well aware of these plans, and, in talking to the Prussian envoy in 1763, had tried to persuade him that the support of England would be very useful to the northern courts, without, however, carrying much conviction to Frederic.[1] Bute's desertion of him at the Peace of Paris had made an ineradicable impression on Frederic's mind. When, therefore, Mitchell began sounding him on the object of Stanley's mission he was most discouraging. He had once, he said, been betrayed by England, and 'le chat échaudé craint l'eau tiède.' When he was told that he might now dismiss such fears, since his old friend Chatham was again in power, he replied that Chatham had hurt himself by his suspected alliance with Bute and his peerage, and that, according to the accounts from London, the Ministry was not likely to last long. Nor was he in the least impressed by Mitchell's representation of the danger to him from the alliance between France and the Empress: on the contrary it seemed to him that an open alliance between himself and England would only excite the jealousy of those Powers and unite them more strictly than before. Frederic was in fact resolved to keep his hands free for the Polish business, in which he knew that England's support would at best be only platonic. Moreover he needed peace to recover from the effects of the late devastating war, and had no mind to be

[1] Michel's report to Frederic on this conversation is contained in his dispatch of November 8, 1763. (Prussian Archives—Rep. 96—*Gross-Britannien* 33 H.)

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dragged into quarrels with France and Spain over a Manila ransom or some barren islands in the Southern Pacific. With Russia it was the same story. Here also Pitt had sounded the ground in a letter written in 1764 'from an almost forgotten corner of Europe' to the Russian ambassador, Count Woronzow. In this letter he had spoken of the courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg as 'the asylum of Europe against the united ambitions of the Bourbon and Austrian houses.'[1] But the bait had not taken. Catherine was more profuse than Frederic in expressions of goodwill, but refused to enter into a treaty of alliance with England except on the terms of English support in a war against Turkey and English subsidies for the promotion of Russian interests in Sweden and Poland. This did not suit Chatham at all. He had laid it down as a cardinal principle not to pay subsidies in time of peace, and would not buy Russia's support by helping her designs on Turkey, with whom England was on excellent terms.

By November 1766 Chatham had been forced to the conviction that his most cherished project of a northern alliance was unattainable, and he had to leave England as isolated as he found her. He was to some extent paying the penalty for Bute's desertion of Frederic in 1762, a desertion which coloured Prussian feelings towards England down to Bismarck's day:[2] but even without this incentive to Frederic's ill-humour it is doubtful if Chatham would have succeeded. Prussia and Russia were too much interested in Central Europe to be especially anxious for an alliance with a maritime Power that could give them no assistance in their designs. But, though Frederic was right in refusing to entangle himself with the politics of Western Europe, he made the rebuff needlessly hard by a characteristic want of generosity in his contemptuous allusions to his old confederate, for whom no praise was once too high. He sneeringly remarked of Chatham's policy that England would not easily find allies for her guineas; he ridiculed Chatham's proud bearing, cast doubt upon the

[1] *Chatham MSS.* 6 (draft of a letter in French).
[2] See above, p. 143.

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reality of his illnesses, and predicted with cynical unconcern his speedy fall.[1]

The strain of continued disappointment, of unremitting labour and of prolonged gout was beginning to tell on Chatham. Signs of the nervous irritability which was soon to becloud and overwhelm his intellect were appearing. His extravagance and love of display became almost a mania. Though abstemious in his personal habits, he soon ran into debt by spending exorbitant sums on pompous equipages and vast trains of servants. Even his children could not go to the seaside without fifteen servants to attend upon them.[2] With every fresh political disappointment his arrogance and impatience of opposition seemed to increase. On a mere suggestion from Conway that Lord Hillsborough should be moved from the Board of Trade to the embassy at Madrid he wrote that 'this desultory step, unfixing the most critical office in the kingdom . . . has made no small impression on my mind, and gives abundant room to think that I am not likely to be of use'; but only a few weeks later he allowed the same Lord Hillsborough to be transferred to the Post Office.[3] In the King's Speech, which he prepared,[4] he was thought to show too little appreciation of the constitution, which he had been wont to defend against arbitrary power, in his allusion to the embargo on wheat—an act of 'royal authority . . . [taken] by and with the advice of my privy council . . . [in] the urgency of the necessity,' without a hint that an act of indemnity was necessary.

Chatham was well enough to come to London for the session which opened on November 11, 1766. The new peer was introduced into the House of Lords by the Earl of Northington, President of the Council, and the Earl of Bristol, Lord Lieutenant November 11, 1766.

[1] For the negotiation, see *Chatham Corr.* vol. iii; *Pol. Corr.* vols. xxv, xxvi; *The Buckinghamshire Papers*; *Lansdowne House MSS.* vols. 29, 30.

[2] *Aff. Etr. Angl. Corr. Pol.* 471, f. 177.

[3] Lord Hillsborough had opposed the Stamp Act and declared himself for 'measures, not men,' circumstances which no doubt influenced Chatham in appointing him First Lord of Trade on account of the close connection of that office with America. His transfer to the office of Postmaster is therefore all the more difficult of explanation.

[4] Mahon, v, Appendix, p. x.

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of Ireland. His maiden speech to the august assembly, of which he was now a member, opened in his most grandiose style. He was almost overcome, he said, in addressing for the first time, from an unaccustomed place, the hereditary legislators of the realm and those most knowing in the laws, and he could not look upon the throne without remembering that it had just been filled with Majesty and with all the tender virtues that encompass Royalty. He then took up the defence of his embargo, which had been attacked as at least requiring an act of indemnity by Mansfield and other speakers more often to be found on the side of prerogative. 'My colleagues,' said he, 'as I was confined by indisposition, did me the signal honour of coming to the bedside of a sick man to ask his opinion. But, had they not thus condescended, I should have taken up my bed and walked in order to have delivered that opinion at the Council Board.'[1] In defending this opinion he took a high line, quoting the words of Locke, 'that constitutional philosopher and liberal statesman,' at the beginning of his chapter on prerogative: 'If there comes to be a question between the executive power and the people about a thing claimed as prerogative, the tendency of the exercise of such a prerogative to the good or hurt of the people will easily decide that question.'[2] But in his impatience of an obviously factious opposition Chatham unfortunately used language which seemed to imply that the Crown must be the sole judge of necessity in such cases—a doctrine which in other circumstances he would have energetically repudiated; his chancellor, Camden, used the ill-judged phrase, 'a tyranny of forty days,' in excusing the Order in Council; and in the other House his friend Beckford roundly declared that in time of danger the Crown might dispense with the law. When the point was brought home to him Chatham yielded with a good grace to the reasonable demand for a bill of indemnity to cover the ministers who had advised as well as the subordinates who had carried out the illegal order. Nevertheless, when the bill came before the Lords he was in no apologetic mood: 'When the people

December 10, 1766.

[1] See Johnson's criticism on this passage in Boswell's *Johnson* (Birkbeck Hill, iv, 317).

[2] Locke, *Civil Government*, II, xiv.

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condemn me I shall tremble,' he said, 'but I shall set my face against the proudest connection in the country.' Richmond, looking on this as a home-thrust against the Rockingham Whigs, took it up with warmth: the nobility, he hoped, 'would not be brow-beaten by an insolent minister,' to whose haughty treatment of individuals he made pointed allusion. Angry words followed on both sides, whereupon the House insisted that there should be no breach of the peace, and Chatham and Richmond begged pardon. Of the two, says the French ambassador, Chatham, who answered Richmond with mingled coolness and severity, kept his temper better;[1] but it was not a glorious victory. Still more disastrous was it for Chatham that on the only two occasions that he appeared as a minister in the House of Lords it was in advocacy of an act of prerogative, requiring a more constitutional sanction than he was at first inclined to concede.

III.—Charles Townshend's Triumph

During the interval between his two speeches in the House of Lords Chatham had astonished the French ambassador by his clearness of mind and power of decision at the two interviews of November,[2] but after his altercation with Richmond he was never quite himself for the rest of his ministry. Once more he retired to Bath, and though for a few weeks longer he still conveyed his wishes to the Cabinet by letter, he was fast losing control: at length even the fitful flashes of his great spirit ceased. Then from the opposite quarter of the heavens arose Burke's other luminary, who, for his hour, became lord of the ascendant. Charles Townshend, said Burke, was the most brilliant man of his or any age. Quick as lightning to assimilate the contents of a book or the passing thoughts in other men's minds, possessing parts that seemed to create knowledge instead of searching for it,

[1] *Aff. Etr. Angl. Cor. Pol.* 471, f. 420.

[2] See above, p. 223.

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and wit so abundant that it seemed loss of time for him to think, so sympathetic, withal, as to be beloved by everyone he met, and at his best an orator whose charm and flow of language rivalled Pitt's, this true 'child of the House' was untroubled with principles or scruples.[1] For a few months Townshend blazed alone as a comet in the stormy sky of politics, but in those few months he justified Chatham's forebodings and was able to undo all his work in two great branches of government—America and the East Indies.

'India,' wrote Chatham in 1773, 'teems with iniquities so rank as to smell to earth and heaven. The reformation of them, if pursued in a pure spirit of justice, might exalt the nation and endear the English name through the world.' In the early days of his ministry he told Grafton India was the greatest of all subjects, according to his sense of great; and when he returned to Bath at Christmas 'this transcendent object' fixed his thoughts and possessed his heart. In Governor Pitt's time, when the East India Company had only a few trading settlements in India, grave abuses resulted from the absence of control over their agents and officials. The Treaty of Paris had made the Company the dominant power in India; but it gave them no greater control over their own agents. Without European competitors these Company servants could trade on any terms they chose, and, exempt from customs themselves, undersold the natives, from whom they levied heavy customs duties. In trade disputes with native subjects they provided their own iniquitous form of justice, but proved themselves utterly incompetent to deal with powerful native princes. The misgovernment in Bengal had become so scandalous by 1764 that Lord Clive was once more sent out with plenary powers to redress abuses. He improved the pay of officials and forbade them to engage in private trade, and he quelled a mutinous spirit in the Company's troops. But these reforms were more than counterbalanced by the fresh inducement to peculation and oppression from the treaty he concluded with the Great Mogul, whereby the Company

[1] For a sketch of an evening passed with Charles Townshend, see Knox's description of him in *Historical MSS. Commission, Various*, vi. 279–81.

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was to collect the revenues of Bengal, Orissa and Behar, and, after payment of a fixed tribute, to retain the balance. By this treaty the trading company suddenly became a great territorial power, with revenues calculated by Clive himself at over £1,500,000,[1] and exaggerated by popular rumour to two or three times that amount. In Leadenhall Street this vast increase of revenue had the worst results. Contrary to the advice of the directors, who knew that many expenses of the war were still unpaid, and were not unanimous in desiring the fresh responsibilities thrust upon them by Clive,[2] the proprietors of stock demanded large and immediate additions to their dividends. Prominent in the hungry crowd was the sinister figure of Pitt's old rival, Fox, now Lord Holland, who was dubbed 'Captain-general of the gamblers.'[3] East India stock rose and fell so rapidly with the varying prospect of a victory for the directors or the proprietors, that old men recalled the days of the South Sea Bubble, and the meetings of the Court of Proprietors attracted as much attention as those of Parliament.

While the shareholders were quarrelling over the spoils, the general public were beginning to wonder why a few lucky proprietors of the East India Company should have the exclusive enjoyment of such a windfall. Without the help of the King's ships and the King's men, the cost of which fell upon the ordinary taxpayer, the Company, so far from acquiring this fabulous wealth, would probably have been driven out of all its factories in India. It began even to be questioned whether, under its charters, this trading company was entitled to exercise dominion over a vast province. Clive himself felt doubts, and in 1765 had sent his agent Walsh to ascertain the Great Commoner's opinion. Walsh had come upon Pitt

[1] *Lansdowne House MSS.* vol. 99. In 1759 he had estimated them at £2,000,000. (See above, p. 29.)

[2] The leader of the anti-territorial party was Chatham's old friend Sulivan, once the patron, now the bitter rival of Clive.

[3] By Chatham's landlord, Dingley, who hoped that, when Fox reached Naples on his travels, he would 'throw himself into the flames of Vesuvius.' (*Chatham MSS.* 31.) During Pitt and Bute's peace negotiations he had gambled heavily with his Paymaster's balances. (See his correspondence with Calcraft and Rigby anent this in *Chatham MSS.* 86.)

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in the lobby of the House of Commons, as he was getting into his overcoat, and had then but a hurried conversation. Pitt expressed great friendship and admiration for Clive personally, but hinted that his acquisitions were 'too vast' and that the Company's proceedings in India were not satisfactory. In October 1766 Walsh had a longer interview at Bath with the Earl of Chatham, who, 'having,' said Walsh, 'a greatness in himself, which makes him feel and assert the great actions of others,' repeated his admiration for Clive, but refused to pronounce a definite opinion on the Company's right to claim territorial revenues, since

> the consideration must of necessity come into Parliament; that by the means of so many gentlemen coming from different parts of the kingdom and turning the subject different ways in their minds, many new lights might be gathered; . . . and that ministers could only interfere in preventing unreasonableness and oppressions on one side or the other.

To Chatham the question whether the Company had a legal right to exercise territorial dominion and collect territorial revenues seemed a minor matter. There was much to be said on either side. From the general tenor of its charters the Company was undoubtedly looked upon as principally a trading concern. On the other hand Chatham noted that on several occasions the Company had been granted the right of holding 'lands, tenements and hereditaments,'[1] and in the two patents issued by himself, in 1757 and 1758, it was empowered to retain as booty all conquests made solely by its own troops and to dispose of all fortresses and territories ceded by native powers.[2] But such a vast accession of wealth and responsibility to the Company as the virtual government of three great provinces had never before been contemplated by himself or anybody else. High considerations of State policy and of the honour of England in her dealings with the natives were involved in this change, and in Chatham's eyes

[1] In *Chatham MSS.* 99 are copies of all the East India Company's charters. All the passages in them relating in any way to permission to hold land, &c., are marked.

[2] See above, p. 29.

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these could not be treated merely on the basis of technical rights. The proper allocation of the new revenues was a question beset with difficulties: 'If the Crown is to seize them, through the medium of a House of Commons, there is an end of the shadow of liberty. English kings would become moguls, rich, splendid, weak; gold would be, fatally, substituted in the place of trade, industry, liberty and virtue.' On the whole, he came to the conclusion,

> that there is in substantial justice a mixed right to the territorial revenues between the State and the Company as joint captors; the State equitably entitled to the larger share as largest contributor in the acquisition by fleets and men. Nor can the Company's share when ascertained be considered as private property, but in trust for the public purposes of India and the extension of trade; never in any case to be portioned out in dividends to the extinction of the spirit of trade.[1]

But, whatever may have been his personal view of the solution, he felt that when the nation was faced with so grave and so new a duty as the government of India, it should not rest with himself or any ministers. True to his creed of trusting his countrymen, he thought the question should be examined calmly and deliberately by the 'Grand Inquest of the nation,' and the responsibility for the decision thus brought home to the whole people. He himself meant 'not to be a proposer of plans, but as far as a seat in one House enables, an unbiased judge of them.' As if to emphasize that the question was left to the unfettered judgment of Parliament, he chose not a member of the Cabinet but his friend Beckford, a private member, to call for the papers on which the House was to deliberate.

It needed Chatham himself to carry through this bold experiment of entrusting the settlement of India to the

[1] These passages occur in letters to Shelburne of 1773, when Chatham was no longer a minister. In the letters of 1767, when the question was to the fore, he was not so explicit; but he appears to have explained these views clearly to Shelburne, who, in a debate of 1773, referred to them as what Lord Chatham 'intended to do for the support of the Company, for the honour of the Crown, and for the benefit of the public, when he was last in the King's service.'

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unaided judgment of Parliament. But in the early months of 1767, when the matter came up, he was too ill to leave Bath or even to explain himself clearly to the Cabinet. All he could do was to watch from a distance the upsetting of all his plans and express his growing indignation in incoherent letters. His colleagues could not understand his refusal to allow them to negotiate with the Company and tender advice to the House of Commons; if he had explained his own guiding principles they might have been able to carry them out; but he wrapped himself in mystery, and even the dark hints he let drop were generally addressed to Beckford. As an inevitable result of this uncertainty about his policy the petty or interested views of other men had free play. The Whigs, as interpreted by the gorgeous eloquence of Burke, could see nothing but an attack on the sacred ark of property in any interference with the Company's rights: Grenville was willing to obtain money for the public from India, but characteristically thought the only question involved was one of law. The stockholders, flown with insolence since their recent prosperity, took a high line and refused any terms to the public except as a price for an extension of their charter. In the House of Commons the stockholders had many friends, among them Charles Townshend, who allowed Grafton and Shelburne to have solemn interviews with the directors, but took the real business entirely into his own hands. Townshend had no high conceptions of State policy and was supremely indifferent to the question of right as between the Crown and the Company: but his responsiveness to popular feeling taught him that the public expected something out of the Bengal revenues, and he proceeded to obtain it in the manner least disagreeable to his friends in Leadenhall Street. He damped down Beckford's inquiry on the plea that he was making a private arrangement with the Company. This was the method condemned beyond all others by Chatham: 'the whole becomes a farce,' he moaned, 'and the Ministry a ridiculous phantom . . . not by the force of factions from without, but from a certain infelicity (I think incurable), which ferments and sours . . . the councils of His Majesty's

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servants.' But Chatham lay impotent at Bath; and Townshend rioted unabashed. His speeches, sparkling with wit, observation and buffoonery, caught every passing mood of a House only too ready to submit to the easy sway of their own spoilt child after years of subjection to an unbending master, before whom they quaked: he never pleased more than on the occasion when, supremely elated by a bottle or two of champagne, he came down to the House full of naughtiness to mimic and ridicule his colleagues, to deny all his previous convictions, and to cast contempt even on his own office.'[1] By his bargain with the directors the Company retained all their old privileges and were left in undisturbed enjoyment of the new revenues, in consideration of a trifling payment to the public and a restraint imposed on excessive dividends. 'The proposal,' Chatham vainly told a friend, '. . . deserves the highest disapprobation of Parliament. . . . It barters away in effect the great right and interest of the nation (which if duly and wisely asserted would have brought effectual relief) for the convenience of the present minute.'[2] But Townshend was now the master. No inquiry, such as Chatham had demanded, was held on the state of India, no abuses were redressed, and no conditions were attached to ensure the good government of the new provinces.

Chatham's anxiety was equally great to enlist the co-operation of Parliament when troubles broke out afresh in America. There the colonists had soon begun to cool from their enthusiasm over the repeal of the Stamp Act. They were still, they discovered, liable to be taxed under the Declaratory Act, and were subject to vexatious billeting charges by a badly drafted mutiny act of Grenville's Ministry; Governor Bernard's arrogant language in 'requiring' instead of 'recommending' compensation for sufferers in the Stamp Act riots set New England aflame. Several assemblies refused to obey the mutiny act, some coupled a vote of amnesty for

[1] Walpole (*Memoirs*) has a brilliant description of Townshend's 'champagne speech,' which for days was the talk of the town.

[2] From a paper endorsed 'East Indies. Lord Chatham's own' in *Pretyman MSS., Orwell Park.*

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rioters with compensation for their victims: but the most serious symptom of changed feeling was a petition drawn up by the New York merchants against the trade system, that 'fixed star' of parliamentary authority. 'It is a literal truth to say that the Stamp Act, of most unhappy memory, has frightened these irritable and umbrageous people quite out of their senses,' wrote Chatham, when he heard of these proceedings; '. . . a spirit of infatuation has taken possession of New York; their disobedience . . . will *justly* create a great ferment here, open a fair field to the arraigners of America, and leave no room to any to say a word in their defence.' But again he wished all the circumstances to be submitted to the calm deliberation of the House. He would not allow the merchants' petition 'to be smothered in the hands of the King's servants,' or the report of Franklin, governor of New Jersey, to be garbled, since 'the words proposed to be omitted contain the *declared* sentiments of the people there, not the mere opinion of the governor.'[1] 'His Majesty,' he declared, 'must be founded in, and strengthened by, the sense of his grand council with regard to whatever steps shall be found necessary to be taken in this most unfortunate business.'

Shelburne, the secretary responsible for America, consulted Chatham on every dispatch he wrote, and was all for a conciliatory policy with the umbrageous people. He prepared a less vexatious mutiny bill, and proposed moving the troops from the towns, where they were not needed, to the Indian border, where they would be useful; he met the English demand for an American contribution to military charges by obtaining better returns from the King's American quitrents; he refused to cut off the old colonists from the West by extending the Canadian boundary to the Mississippi, as Grenville had proposed; and in drafting a constitution for Canada went on the assumption that the King intended to govern his new subjects 'not with the rough hand of a conqueror, but in the true spirit of a lawful sovereign.'[2] But he was alone against the rest of the Cabinet. They were once more carried off their feet by

[1] *Lansdowne House MSS.* P. 27 (Chatham to Shelburne, March 10, 1767).
[2] *Ibid.* vol. 66.

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Townshend, who had no notion whatever of waiting for the calm deliberations of the House, but at the earliest moment took up a position that destroyed all chance of conciliation in America. On January 26, 1767, on the vote for the army, Grenville had asked that the colonies should pay the £400,000 required for the troops quartered in America. Certainly, answered Townshend; and though personally he regarded the distinction between external and internal taxation as 'an ecstasy of madness,' he even engaged to find the money from external taxation, to which Chatham and the Americans could offer no logical objection. The House, now again in full possession of the prejudices, which it had discarded for a few weeks at the Great Commoner's bidding, roared with delighted approval, whereat Townshend repeated his pledge. The opportunity soon came. On the budget the land tax was proposed at the war figure of 4*s*. in the pound. Both the Rockingham Whigs and Grenville's faction, who had recently been in office, knew that, with so much debt outstanding, this could not justifiably be reduced; but the opportunity of damaging Chatham and earning popularity with the country gentlemen on the eve of a general election was too good to be missed. Sir George Savile, alone among the Whigs, protested against this mean trick; the second Lord Hardwicke was also uneasy, but consoled himself by 'a bit of the Opera.'[1] The only doubt was, which of the two parties should gain the credit for the reduction: in the end the Whig Dowdeswell outwitted Grenville, and, on February 27, carried the proposal to levy only 3*s*. with the support of some members of the Ministry.[2] It was the first important defeat any government had suffered in the House of Commons since the days of Sir Robert Walpole. The revenue was so straitened that every means had to be taken to provide funds. Chatham's Pay Office accounts, which were still unaudited, were hurriedly made up, and his outstanding balance of some £90,000 brought into the Treasury.[3]

[1] See Rockingham, *Memoirs*, ii, 34–8.

[2] George Cooke, who was 'pigging' it with Lord North at the Paymaster's Office, was one of these. He afterwards sent a whining apology to Chatham.

[3] See *Chatham Corr.* iii, 239, and vol. i, p. 154.

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Other more heroic measures had to be contrived, but not before Chatham had made one desperate effort to reassert himself.

From December 1766 to the following February Chatham had remained at Bath, and, though still consulted by the Cabinet, was incapable of giving any clear directions, and seemed to justify Burke's description of him, 'lying on his back and talking fustian.' In the middle of February he gathered himself together for the start to London, but at Marlborough, the end of the first stage, was taken so ill that he went to bed and could not leave his lodging for ten days. The old Castle Inn at Marlborough[1] was all of a bustle during this time: most of the rooms were taken up by the great earl and his retinue, and the gossips even said that the inn-servants had for the nonce to don his blue and silver livery; horsemen with messages on affairs of State kept coming and going at all hours of the day and night. The Duke of Grafton himself offered to ride down post to Marlborough, but Chatham was too ill to see him. At last he was able to start again and arrived in town on March 3; he at once wrote 'to lay himself with all duty and submission at the King's feet and to pour out a heart overflowing with the most reverential and warm sense of His Majesty's infinite condescension.' He still felt too unwell 'to attend his Majesty's most gracious presence,' but he showed a faint flicker of spirit at Townshend's insubordination. He had not needed the hints of an anonymous 'admirer' that Townshend was 'betraying him every hour,' or the faithful Dingley's description of him as 'a second Lord Holland, I fear more false as he is more capable of deluding';[2] for his threats to tax America and his mismanagement of the Indian question, Chatham's 'transcendent object,' spoke for themselves. Regarding him as incurable, Chatham offered his post

[1] This noble building was originally built for the Earl of Hertford by Inigo Jones. On the ancient British mound in its grounds Thomson wrote part of *The Seasons*. It had recently become an inn and remained so as long as the coaching days lasted. In 1843, when the introduction of railways had reduced its custom, the building was put on the market and bought for the use of Marlborough College, an institution for which the author is especially bound to pray.

[2] *Chatham MSS.* 67 and 31.

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of Chancellor of the Exchequer to Lord North. But North felt himself more comfortable on his 'truckle bed' with Cooke and refused the offer. After this brief attempt to exercise authority Chatham relapsed into absolute seclusion at North End. Townshend, made more outrageous by the offer to North and its refusal, had now no one to gainsay him.

On May 13, 1767, he brought forward his American proposals. Instead of an exhaustive investigation by Parliament of the grievances as well as the misdeeds of the discontented colonists, which was Chatham's policy, he punished without inquiry. Massachusetts, New Jersey and Rhode Island, whose offences had been comparatively trivial, were let off with milder penalties, but New York, the chief offender, was forbidden to pass any acts of its own until the vexatious mutiny act of the imperial Parliament had been complied with. Next, to supply the deficiency on the English land tax and to redeem his promise to find a revenue in America, he lighted upon an ingenious method whereby he also helped his friends on the East India Company. All tea shipped to America had first to pay duty in England, and this was so heavy that the East India Company, who had the monopoly of the trade, found that the Americans preferred to smuggle theirs from the Dutch.[1] Townshend accordingly proposed that tea and some other articles sent to America should have no customs charged in England, but be liable to a lower tax in America: English custom-house officers were to be sent over to levy this tax and prevent smuggling, and the proceeds, estimated at a beggarly £35,000, were to be used for paying the civil government in America. For this paltry sum the whole system of trade regulations, to which no serious objection had yet been raised, was to be jeopardized. These regulations had been accepted for the reasons given by Chatham; but customs duties imposed by Parliament solely on the Americans and levied by English custom-house officials on American soil, though lower than those formerly imposed in England and though veiled by their ingenious author under the name of external taxes, were

[1] See proposals of the directors of the East India Company to the Cabinet on January 2, 1767. (*Chatham Corr.* iii, 164.)

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as objectionable in principle as the Stamp Act itself. Grenville was overjoyed: he had regained all he had lost the previous year. Burke and Dowdeswell made some faint attempt at modification, Conway a futile effort to oppose his headstrong colleague, and Beckford uttered the only wise word in the debate: 'Do like the best of physicians: heal the disease by doing nothing.'[1] But nobody minded Beckford. The House, delighted to vent its rage on insolent provincials, and lulled to security by the blessed word 'external,' voted Townshend's proposals with enthusiasm. A few months later Townshend, the brilliant artificer of ruin, died, having put the final touches to his design.

IV.—The Tragic Close

When this fatal vote was given, Chatham was past caring, hardly knew, perhaps, what was occurring in the world of politics. From the date of his return to London in February he grew gradually worse. In April he had been seen in his chariot 'looking very grave and sadly,' and with a servant sitting by him, 'as if they would not let him go out by himself, for he certainly does not like the company of servants.'[2] For more than a year afterwards he rarely appeared outside the house, would hardly see anybody, could write no letters, became thin and emaciated, and showed all the signs of mental disorder. When the conversation turned on indifferent subjects he often appeared sane and rational, and in his airings abroad was thought to look untroubled with gout. But the mere suggestion of business set his mind ajar. Under a power of attorney drawn up in August 1767 he committed the care of his private affairs entirely to Lady Chatham. In vain the King, Shelburne

[1] In April he had written to Chatham quoting Dr. Sydenham's motto, 'Nihil faciendo quantum fecit,' and urging the recall of troops from the old provinces of America, where they were not wanted and were the cause of anger, hatred and malice. (*Chatham Corr.* iii, 251.)

[2] *Grenville Papers*, iv, 8.

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and Grafton all wrote to him in turn, imploring an interview or his opinion by letter on public affairs: he could only answer, in Lady Chatham's hand, that he was totally incapable of giving advice or seeing anybody. At the beginning of June 1767, after reiterated commands from the King, who told him, 'your duty and affection for my person, your own honour, call on you to make an effort,' he agreed to a five minutes' conversation with Grafton. But the effort was useless. Grafton, prepared to find him very ill, found him far worse than he had imagined: 'his nerves and spirits were affected to a dreadful degree: and the sight of his great mind bowed down and thus weakened by disorder . . . [made] the interview truly painful.' Grafton had come to ask advice on the growing disunion of the Ministry, with Townshend, Conway, and Shelburne always at odds; but Chatham could hardly be got to understand what he said or offer any suggestion beyond begging Grafton to remain at his post. During his long illness Chatham would sometimes sit for days in a little room on the top story at North End, resting his hands on a table and leaning his head upon them. He could not suffer even his wife to be long in the room and hardly spoke to her: if he wanted anything he knocked with his stick, and so sparing of words had the great orator become that he dismissed his attendants by a sign instead of by word. His meals were not brought into the room, but left in a hatch[1] outside: this he opened when the servant had gone, and, after he had taken food, replaced the dishes. At other times he was seized with strange and uncontrollable desires. In April 1767 he persuaded the long-suffering Dingley to agree to an addition of thirty-four bedrooms to North End House and to plans for acquiring every building that interfered with the view.[2] In May nothing would satisfy him but to buy back Hayes, which he had sold only the year before to Thomas Walpole. He had an invalid's fancy that he would never be restored to health until he breathed once more the air of Hayes. At first Walpole refused to sell, saying that Hayes

[1] This hatch is still to be seen in the wall of Chatham's room at North End House.

[2] *Chatham MSS.* 31.

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had become a part of himself, but offered to let Chatham live there for a year. No, this would not do: Chatham declared he must possess the house as owner and could live there on no other terms. At last, after entreaties from Lady Chatham and from Lord Camden, who told Walpole he would incur a grave responsibility if he refused what might restore health to the great statesman, Walpole yielded, and by Christmas 1767 Hayes was once more ready for its old master.[1]

The ailment from which Chatham suffered was diffused gout, probably complicated with Bright's disease. In the weak physical state to which this reduced him, his nervous system, already overwrought by excessive labours, temporarily became utterly deranged; and the prolonged fits of mental depression to which he had often been subject were now interrupted by attacks of excitement bordering on insanity. In the family there was undoubtedly a strain of madness: the grandfather showed it in his uncontrollable fits of savage fury, Chatham's brother and two of his sisters by abnormal passions or abnormal violence. Chatham probably saved himself from more such attacks only by extraordinary self-control and constant abstemiousness. Unfortunately at this crisis he committed the care of his health to a new physician, Dr. Addington, hitherto known chiefly as a mad-doctor and spoken of by Horace Walpole as a mere empiric. Nothing could shake the confidence felt in him by both Lord and Lady Chatham. The King urged Chatham almost affectionately to consult one of his own physicians, but, 'sunk as his health was,' Lord Chatham humbly submitted to his Majesty 'that his entire confidence is placed in Dr. Addington . . . and implores that he may be allowed still to pursue his direction without the intervention of another physician.' Addington's treatment of his patient would certainly not be approved by the faculty to-day. A sparse meat diet, very little alcohol, fresh air, and a warm, dry climate in the winter would now be recommended

[1] Walpole did not lose by his good-nature. In June 1766 he paid £11,780 for Hayes, and in March 1768 Chatham had to pay him £17,400 for the same property. (See *Chatham MSS.* 51 (Nuthall's letters), also *Chatham MSS.* 61 for Walpole's letters on the subject, and *Chatham Corr.* iii, 289–92.)

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for his ailments; and this was the regimen which Chatham had been wont to impose on himself, for he loved fresh air, was temperate at table, and delighted in horse-exercise. Addington's treatment was almost exactly the opposite. 'My lord, I hope, goes on with animal food for dinner and abates not of his wine. I cannot recommend exercise in the air at present,' he writes to Lady Chatham.

I am very glad [runs another letter] my lord has begun to drink old Hock; I own I wish him to double his quantity of Hock for dinner, i.e. to drink two glasses of plain Hock and two glasses of *red port* every day over and above the Madeira which he drinks unmixed with water and over and above the Port which is taken in sago.[1]

Addington's chief object was to induce fits of the gout: amidst much jargon about the fluid and solid states of the body he talks of the gout's 'friendly visits' and congratulates his patient 'on its first faint appearance, the prelude of the long wished-for fit.' The effect of his treatment was to make Chatham's whole system more rather than less liable to gouty attacks, and to keep him more often and for longer periods prostrate than was the case before he undertook his cure.[2]

With such a physician the wonder is that Chatham ever recovered his faculties or even survived. That he lived to be himself again, England owes to the noble woman who was his wife. In the days of their happy courtship she had told him, 'I am not so much my own as I am yours.' These were no doting woman's words. When he was master of his fate

[1] An instructive sidelight on the capacity for eating, in rich circles of the time, is afforded by a remark in one of Temple's letters: 'N.B. I can eat 2 platefulls of mutton and 4 of Rost Beef besides other Trifles at one meal! A good English stomach of 64.' (*Chatham MSS.* 63.)

[2] Some valuable suggestions on Chatham's illness are due to Dr. R. O. Moon, who kindly examined some of Addington's voluminous correspondence with the Pitt family in *Chatham MSS.* 15 and 16. The late Sir Andrew Clark gave Lord Fitzmaurice an opinion of Chatham's illness, which agrees with this account. (See Fitzmaurice, *Shelburne*, i, 332 *note*.) The only sensible suggestion Addington appears to have made is that the local doctor should not be allowed to sleep every night in the house, as 'it may be the means of nourishing and prolonging the hypochondriacal part of the disorder, and can do no good.'

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she let him lead, for she knew him to be a leader. But when the darkness came over his soul, she instantly rose to the needs of her husband and herself, their children, and their country. She showed herself to be what Coutts the banker declared of her, 'the cleverest *man* of her time in politics and business'; and when she had to touch upon affairs of State showed discretion worthy of Chatham himself.[1] She wrote her husband's letters, managed his affairs, brought up his children as he would have brought them up, and spent on him all the patience and love, without which his terrible affliction could never have been soothed away. Few women have had to face such a task with so little help as hers. The brothers, Lord Temple and George Grenville, to whom she might have looked for help, were hopelessly at variance with her lord; her own dignity as Lord Chatham's wife forbade her consenting to the reconciliation which Lord Temple offered, for fear of seeming disloyalty to the husband whose illness, she believed, was partly due to the breach. Temple's kind words wrung from her heart one cry of complaint for 'all the grievous wounds that have been given to every part of my happiness,' and the admission that, were she the single sufferer, the seeing him 'would be a balm that would cure her affliction.'[2] But otherwise not a word of repining escaped her in those anxious months of watching over the darkened mind and wasted body of him she loved.

Chatham remained titular Lord Privy Seal until October 1768, but never more exercised ministerial functions after his sad journey from Bath in February 1767. His friends Shelburne, Camden and Grafton remained faithful to him, if not to his ideas, and carried on the Ministry as best they could. But changes could not be avoided. In September 1767, after Townshend's sudden death, North, the 'King's Friend,' made no further difficulty about taking the Exchequer; at the end of the year the Bedfords, now also turned into 'King's Friends,'

[1] After Chatham's death she wrote to Shelburne that she felt bound in honour not to divulge anything 'which the sad circumstances of my Lord's life may have put into my hands.' (*Lansdowne House MSS.* P. 27.)

[2] See a somewhat cryptic correspondence between Temple and Lady Chatham in April–May 1768. (*Grenville Papers*, iv, 280–3, 289–90.)

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came in as an undivided party and swamped the Ministry, in direct opposition to Chatham's declared intentions. Nevertheless Chatham's three supporters still hoped against hope that he would once more lend the glamour of his presence to revive an already discredited administration. 'There is such a deference paid to him,' wrote Franklin, 'that much business is delayed on his account, that so when entered on it may have the strength of his concurrence or not be liable to his reprehension if he should recover his ability and activity.' The King himself was equally faithful: he also wanted Chatham to gild for the nation the bitter pill of a ministry made up of Bedfords and 'King's Friends.' He refused to listen to his requests to be allowed to resign, and authorized the Privy Seal to be placed in commission for the transaction of some indispensable business and then immediately restored to the ailing minister.[1] He was even credited with the intention of creating Chatham Duke of Kent to manifest his continued confidence in him.[2] Like many of his subjects, George III thought Chatham's illness was 'political gout' and could easily have been overcome by a vigorous effort.[3] He appealed to him by his services in the late memorable war to lend his aid in attaining objects 'such as would almost awaken the great men of this country of former ages and therefore must oblige you to cast aside any remains of your late indisposition.' But throughout most of 1768 Chatham remained fixed in hopeless apathy at Hayes, and when at length he was stirred to a sudden decision it was not to return to business but to resign.

After his whole ministry had been metamorphosed and almost every object dear to him given up, the immediate

[1] Lord Bottetort wished to have a privy seal empowering him to set up a brass-foundry in Gloucestershire. His project being opposed, he insisted on his right to be heard before the Lord Privy Seal. Accordingly three Privy Council clerks were appointed to hold the Seal on commission, heard the case, and restored the Seal through Lord Camden to Chatham. The correspondence on this subject shows plainly Chatham's distress of mind and punctilio about small legal trifles, very unlike his real self. (*Chatham Corr.* iii.)

[2] Manners, *Granby*, p. 326.

[3] During 1767 the *Public Advertiser* was full of anonymous attacks on Chatham as 'the pensioner on crutches' and 'the little earl.'

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causes of Chatham's resignation seem comparatively trifling. The first was the removal of his favourite general Amherst from the government of Virginia and the appointment in his stead of Lord Bottetort, a bankrupt peer of a shady reputation, who had private schemes of his own to promote in America. Amherst, it is true, was an absentee governor, while Bottetort intended to reside in his province; but Chatham appears to have thought a direct blow was aimed at himself through his friend.[1] The other cause was certainly more serious: Shelburne, the only convinced supporter of Chatham's American policy in the Cabinet, was suddenly told by Grafton that American affairs were henceforth to be taken out of his hands and put under a third Secretary of State. Shelburne naturally took this as a notice to quit. The news of these two events seemed to act as a sudden jet of cold water on Chatham, to restore him to sanity, and make him at last take stock of his position. Grafton himself was nervous how he would take the news and came to visit him at Hayes, but had to content himself with a message by Lady Chatham that her lord would never consent or concur in the step of Lord Shelburne's removal, which he thought contrary to the King's service, and that Amherst's dismissal seemed to him equally unhappy and unfortunate. Three days later Chatham sent Grafton his formal resignation. Grafton urged him to withdraw it; the King wrote to 'insist' on his remaining. But this time the royal commands had no effect. 'Totally disabled as I still am,' ran Chatham's final answer, 'from assisting in your Majesty's Councils, under this load of unhappiness I will not despair of your Majesty's pardon, while I supplicate again on my knees your Majesty's mercy and most humbly implore your Majesty's royal permission to resign that high office.' On October 14, 1768, Chatham laid down his last office under the Crown.

All the high hopes with which Mr. Pitt was filled, when he drove to London at such a rate two years before, had been

[1] There was much justification for Amherst's supersession, for America required resident governors at this time. But Bottetort in Virginia was an even worse arrangement than Amherst out of it.

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dashed. The Ministry which was to unite all parties had begun by excluding three of the most powerful sections in Parliament, and had ended as a forcing ground for the breed of politicians who within a few years were to threaten almost every liberty won for the Parliament and people of England after more than a century of struggles. On the Continent England, still isolated, faced a strong confederacy of foes watching for the first chance of vengeance. In India iniquity still flourished unabashed. The beginnings of a good understanding with America had been crushed by a Cabinet of which the champion of American freedom was chief. Others who have known how to evoke the national spirit in times of danger have failed in a great ministry of peace. But Chatham's failure in 1767 does not prove that he could not have ruled his country in peace as well as war. In some respects he failed dismally and by his own fault. He misjudged the opportunity for his northern alliance, and by his arrogance lost many who would have been a strength to his Ministry. But in the two chief tasks before him, India and America, he had no chance of proving his capacity. His illness made him infirm of purpose in advising, and lost him his control over an ill-assorted crew of men with no settled convictions. Yet, during the few weeks that he was himself, he imposed his own will upon them, and left even the rebel Townshend abashed and awed. Had he remained himself, this might well have continued. His great mistake was the mistake of most men of strong will and stern purpose—believing that he could do all himself. On that principle he chose his Cabinet, and, when his great mind gave way, that Cabinet, which contained no man of real force, failed him utterly and irretrievably.

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CHAPTER XXIII

THE GREAT COMMONER IN THE LORDS

οἱ δ' ὡς οὖν ἄϊον ὄπα χάλκεον Αἰακίδαο
πᾶσιν ὀρίνθη θυμός.

HOMER, *Iliad*, xviii, 222.[1]

IN 1769 Chatham awoke from his long sleep to a world he hardly recognised. His Ministry was the same only in name. Shelburne, who most nearly shared his views, had been ignominiously expelled; Grafton and Camden, though they still clung to office and sought consolation at Newmarket or in sullen silence, were out-voted on every question. The chief places had been usurped by a solid phalanx of the Bedford connection, taught by three years' sojourn in the wilderness to abandon their chief's haughty independence and bow to the King's least commands. The real head of the Ministry was George III, who had at last satisfied the ambition instilled into him by Bute and the Princess Dowager. He appointed ministers and dismissed them; he chose bishops, deans and regius professors without calling for any advice; he arranged the business of the House of Commons and indicated the members to speak in debate; he allowed no corporate will in his Cabinet, and would take no advice from a minister on matters outside his own department; on general policy his decisions were unquestioned and final. Parliament was a docile instrument in his hands. The 1761 House of Commons, taking its colour from the Ministry of the day, had voted in turn for and against general warrants, for the Stamp Act and for its repeal,

[1] 'Their hearts were stirred within them, when they heard his mighty voice.'

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and at the King's bidding had approved the Peace of Paris and surrendered its own privileges; but in 1768 it was replaced by a House yet more subservient. All the worst scandals of Newcastle's day had paled before the open and unabashed bribery of that election, for which an ample civil list was found insufficient; while the treasures of India were poured out to find seats for nabobs, as prone as the King's own candidates to take the side of prerogative. On the Northamptonshire election alone £30,000 a side was expended, and offers of £9,000 for a borough were treated with derision.

In a House so elected the constitution itself was no longer sacred. Jack Wilkes, whom George III had never forgiven for the attack in *The North Briton*, had returned from his voluntary exile for the general election. He was sentenced to prison for his libel, but was also elected member of Parliament for Middlesex, where the freeholders were too numerous and too independent to be bribed. His popularity would soon have vanished had he been left alone, as Chatham had long before recognised;[1] but the King was implacable and demanded his expulsion from the House. Lord North, who had succeeded Townshend as leader of the Commons, supported by the King's men, at once complied. On February 3, 1769, Wilkes was expelled, on the 16th he was re-elected for Middlesex, and on the 17th again expelled and declared incapable of sitting. Once more, on March 16, Wilkes was elected for Middlesex, and on the following day again expelled. For the fourth time, on April 13, the electors of Middlesex flouted the wishes of the King and approved their choice of Wilkes. On April 15 the House of Commons, not content with expelling Wilkes, declared that Luttrell—who had received only 296 votes to his opponent's 1,143—was the duly elected member for Middlesex. The House of Commons based its decision on its own resolution that Wilkes was incapable of sitting in Parliament; but, although the House had incontestably the right of expelling

[1] In 1766 Wilkes had written to Grafton asking for a pardon. Chatham had advised taking no notice of the application: it was an awkward business, he said, best not meddled with. Wilkes had thereupon attacked Chatham for his 'flinty heart,' a stranger to 'the sweets of private friendship and the fine feelings of humanity'; but nobody minded him then.

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one of its own number, it could not create an incapacity to sit in Parliament or prevent the free choice by electors of a man not disqualified by the common law or any statute. In declaring Luttrell elected, this one branch of the legislature arrogated to itself the province of King, Lords and Commons, and struck at the very root of representative government. Even George Grenville, Wilkes's former adversary, joined the Rockingham Whigs in protesting against such an unconstitutional proceeding.

Violence at home was matched by incompetence abroad. In August 1768 Choiseul, who had long been waiting for his opportunity, quietly annexed Corsica—an acquisition for France which to a great extent neutralized the value of Minorca to England. The French would not have gone so far, wrote Beckford, 'had they not been acquainted with the interior of our Cabinet'; and he was right. Choiseul could afford to despise Grafton's feeble attempts to supply Paoli, the Corsican patriot, with arms, and to slight any official protests from the English Government, when Bedford assured him that nothing would induce England to go to war.[1] In America ministers combined half-measures of conciliation with provocative attempts at severity. The colonists had rebelled against Townshend's taxes, the total repeal of which was urged by Grafton, Granby, Conway and Camden in 1769. As a matter of principle, however, the majority of the Cabinet resolved to retain the single tax on tea, which brought the Crown no revenue and was as offensive to the Americans as all the other taxes put together: to make matters worse, Hillsborough, the newly-created Secretary for America, informed the colonies of this decision in a circular couched in most ungracious terms. Soldiers were quartered in recalcitrant cities, the assembly of Massachussetts was suspended, and resolutions of both Houses of Parliament were passed, putting into force in America obsolete laws of Henry VIII's tyrannical reign.

[1] See Bedford's letter of December 1768 to Choiseul in *Bedford Correspondence*, iii, 405. The duke, it is true, suggests that the French troops should quit Corsica, but insists so unctuously on the pacific disposition of the Ministry, in which his own friends were predominant, that Choiseul wisely disregarded the suggestion.

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Instead of being the patriot king as Chatham had conceived him, informed by the great council of the nation and inspired by the people's minister, George III, employing his ministers as clerks and his Parliament as an assemblage to record the expression of his prejudices, had pitted himself against the people of the British Empire. In such a fight the odds were in his favour.

Never [wrote one anxiously watching the trend of opinion in England], never was public virtue at so low an ebb nor ministerial influence (by means of places, pensions, &c.) so unlimited. Never were people so unarmed, so unskilled, so unprepared to exert force, nor the administration so well furnished with every means of subverting the constitution, . . . never did ministers attempt to establish despotism, possessed of such power, or supported by such regular, well-disciplined force.[1]

The people of England were as yet like sheep without a shepherd. The Whigs and followers of Grenville had no large views and were incapable of sustained efforts. Attached to the old shibboleths of party, these politicians were blind to the need of new and heroic methods to meet a danger new in the experience of all men living. Even this party loyalty, to which Burke clung with such pathetic confidence, sapped by habits of Asiatic luxury and the subtle poison of corruption, was not always proof against temptation; and, in consequence, the best men were inclined to suspect their neighbours of treachery. The people, who suffered most, being hardly articulate, threw themselves into the hands of the demagogue who could shout the loudest or stab in the dark most venomously. Men like Wilkes, 'Junius' or Parson Horne were the chief adversaries of the King's policy, and the leadership of such men provoked riots and violence, which merely served as an excuse for further oppression. Cities and counties sent up petitions and remonstrances, signed in one case by 10,000 freeholders, against the Middlesex proceedings; but more significant of the country's temper were the savage tumults at Exeter, from which the Duke of Bedford was barely rescued alive, and the mob law

[1] *Collections of Massachusetts Historical Society*, 5th Series, vol. ix, *Trumbull Papers* (W. S. Johnson to W. Pitkin, September 18, 1769). W. S. Johnson was the agent for Massachusetts in London.

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in Brentford and in London. 'We already hear,' wrote the same observer, 'many cry aloud even for the blood of those by whom they believe the liberties of the nation have been attacked and its honour sacrificed.' In America, where the people were better educated and more independent, the symptoms were even graver. The riotous crowds were less bloodthirsty, but better disciplined and more representative of the whole community. By an organized movement the merchants had within a year diminished the value of the English trade by three-quarters of a million sterling; the King's law was being treated with open contempt; the feeling for union was growing in the provinces, and independence was already being talked of. The leaders were no demagogues, but men of upright character and a full sense of responsibility.

At the end of April 1769, when Luttrell had been duly 'elected' for Middlesex, Chatham's understanding, after a severe fit of the gout, returned to him. Already in the previous November he had become reconciled to Temple and from him had been receiving accounts of the Wilkes affair.[1] He quickly gauged how serious a blow had been struck at the representative system, what a victory gained for the arbitrary power of the Crown, and, while maintaining his private opinion of the 'blasphemer of his God,' rose in indignant protest against 'any power in this country measuring the civil rights of the subject by his moral character or by any other rule but the fixed laws of the land.' He lost no time in making known this opinion. First he saw his remaining friends in the Cabinet. Camden told him that he had never approved of the action taken by the House of Commons.[2] Granby, a blunt soldier and no politician, without approving had simply followed his leader,[3] but was staggered by a conversation

[1] See Winstanley, *Chatham and the Whig Opposition*, p. 284, *note*.

[2] Camden's conduct in the whole business was weak or even worse. On his own admission he at first never told the Cabinet how much he disapproved of the Wilkes proceedings but 'hung his head' in silence. Even the lax views of Cabinet responsibility then current do not excuse this silence. Nevertheless it may be said for him that, when directly asked by Grafton for a legal opinion on the right to petition against the Middlesex election, under Chatham's prompting he gave a clear answer in its favour.

[3] Manners, *Granby*, p. 338.

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with Chatham at Hayes, which he at once reported to Grafton. No direct communication passed between Chatham and the First Lord, who had sinned too deeply to be forgiven. Chatham, it is true, had implored Grafton to remain at the head of the Ministry, but not in order to abandon every principle in Indian, American and domestic policy that he held dear. He was unfair, perhaps, to the man who had only consented to stay on his own urgent entreaty; but Chatham rarely showed pity to men of infirm purpose, and allowed no ties of gratitude or friendship to restrain his wrath against those by whom he thought the country betrayed.

On July 6, after one more attack of gout, he felt able to take coach and repair to Court, to tell the King himself what he thought. His sudden appearance, when the world had hardly heard of his recovery, came like a thunderbolt. Courtiers, who had thought themselves well rid of him, stared aghast as at a man risen from the dead. Ministers who had been assured by Mansfield that they were secure, 'unless that madman Lord Chatham came and threw fireballs in the midst of them,' quaked before his terrible gaze. The fireballs could be anticipated, for he was distant and haughty to Bedford and Grafton, though he embraced Granby warmly. The King professed to be glad to see him, and whispered him to wait and attend him in the Closet. Here, after an exchange of courteous compliments, Chatham made his displeasure known to his Sovereign. He blamed the proceedings of the House of Commons on Wilkes, the conduct of American affairs, and the still unredressed grievances of India. He might have occasion, he warned the King, to dissent from his measures in Parliament—not, however, from any personal views or from any ambition for office, which had been entirely killed by his last illness—but because he stood for the defence of the constitution that had been violated. George III listened graciously but made no comment. After twenty minutes they parted, never again to meet face to face.[1]

The champion of the people had thrown down the gage

[1] The best account of this conversation is in Grafton, *Memoirs*, p. 236; Walpole, the *Grenville Papers*, and the *Rockingham Memoirs* also give points.

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of battle to the King, henceforth his real adversary. The world at large soon learned that he had come back 'high in spirits and in fury.' The three grand points, to which all efforts should, he thought, be directed, were Corsica, America and the right of election as a constitutional principle. Of these the last far transcended the others in importance. The preparations for war of France and Spain were alarming enough, 'but, sir,' he said to one in his grand, sweeping manner, 'if they were to land on the coast of Sussex to-morrow, we will not stir a step to oppose them till this deep wound in our constitution is healed. Sir, I had rather be a slave to France than to a fellow-subject.' 'You think then, my lord,' he was asked, 'that this Parliament may be dissolved?' 'May, Sir! it must, it shall be dissolved.'[1] For the rest of the year he was busy gathering his forces for the fray, much helped in the business by a Kentish neighbour, John Calcraft. This man, the son of an attorney at Grantham, had entered the Pay Office under the patronage of Fox, but during the Seven Years' War threw up that post for an army agency. By his punctuality and probity he gained many friends in the army, including Granby the commander-in-chief, and amassed great wealth by his government contracts and judicious speculation in the funds with Fox and Rigby. His rent roll amounted to £10,000 a year in 1767, when he had an estate at Ingress in Kent and had bought up the Wareham property of Chatham's cousin, John Pitt of Encombe. In 1763, when Shelburne perpetrated his 'pious fraud' on Fox,[2] Calcraft left his old patron to enlist with Shelburne under Pitt's banner, and, until he died in 1772, rendered his new chief untiring service. He was eyes and ears to him in collecting early information of the Ministry's plans, and helped to keep him in touch with all sections of the

[1] Burke, *Correspondence*, i, 215; Rockingham, ii, 142.

[2] Shelburne used this expression to account for the report he spread of Fox's intention to resign the Pay Office. Fox could see the fraud, he said, but was damned if he could find any piety in it. Shelburne was never allowed to forget the 'pious fraud,' and the distrust which he seems to have inspired in most of his contemporaries was partly due to this circumstance. Shelburne was evidently not a trustworthy man, but in this circumstance his worst fault was to repeat an unguarded conversation of Fox. (See Fitzmaurice, *Shelburne*, i, 130 *sqq.*)

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Opposition in Parliament and the more extreme parties in the City and elsewhere. In this work he was materially assisted by Philip Francis, the St. Paul's boy in Pitt's department, who had since been transferred to the War Office. Here Francis wormed out secrets, which he handed on to Calcraft, often with the request that the information should be sent anonymously to Chatham. Owing to his official position he had rare facilities for attending debates in Parliament, and used his opportunity for Chatham's benefit by making some of the best reports we have of his speeches and publishing them abroad for all the world to know the great earl's views. And all the while, under the shadow of a name—'Junius' or 'Domitian'—he stood wielding a weapon even more terrible to his victims than Chatham's thunderous eloquence: invective which still astonishes the world by the purity and vigour of its language, and seemed to Chatham himself worth quoting as a specimen of oratory for his children.[1]

In choosing his allies, Chatham, true to his constant practice, cared nothing for their political complexion, so long as they were good men willing to fight by his side in the cause of liberty and the constitution. Shelburne and his friends were heart

[1] Among Chatham's letters at Chevening is one of March 1770, forwarding to Lady Chatham a paper by Domitian 'as a specimen of oratory for William.' Junius's chief service to the country was his clear statement of the Middlesex election question; his letter to the King of December 1769 did more harm than good, since it created a reaction in the King's favour. Francis was moved by no high ambition in his support of Chatham and the popular cause, but by the hope of promotion if Chatham returned to power. When he found that his connection with the Opposition 'would never lead him to any solid advantage,' he made his peace with the Government and obtained a seat on the Council of Bengal. (See his autobiography in Parke and Merivale, i, 364.) That Francis was Junius will probably never be susceptible of absolute proof, but the identification seems almost certain. Among the forty-two people to whom the authorship of the Junius letters has been attributed is Chatham himself. (See e.g. *Dublin University Review*, xl, 1–18.) When Lady Hester Stanhope was asked her opinion of this suggestion she answered oracularly, 'My grandfather was perfectly capable and likely to write and do things which no human being would dream came from his hands.' On the other hand the younger Beckford ('Vathek'), who always spoke of the Pitt family as if he were one of them, when asked if the Letters were by Chatham, replied, 'Most decidedly not; none of us ever for a moment thought that they were, and, if they had, we should certainly have known it.' The idea indeed is so fantastic, so unlike anything else known of Chatham, and so devoid of evidence, that it is hardly worth discussing.

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and soul with him. He cemented the renewed alliance with Temple and Grenville by a state visit to Stowe and Wotton, and was observed on his way thither by the sage of Beaconsfield driving a jimwhiskee[1] and followed by two coaches and six with Lady Chatham, the children, and a train of twenty servants. Grenville, who in Chatham's eyes had atoned for past faults by his conduct on the Middlesex election, brought over with him a small but able following, prominent among whom was the young Scottish lawyer Wedderburn.

Reconciliation with the Rockingham Whigs was a harder task. Their ancient leader, the poor old Duke of Newcastle, who would have welcomed Chatham, had died in November 1768. To the last he was busy writing, complaining and intriguing, but he had outlived his power. 'This morning died the Duke of Newcastle,' wrote Bristol to Lady Chatham, 'an event which will make no alteration but with regard to the university of Cambridge, which has a Chancellor to choose'[2]— a pathetic epitaph on 'the one too powerful subject' who in his day had appointed every tide-waiter and riding officer in the kingdom, had made and unmade members of Parliament, and created bishops and ministers of state to suit his own good pleasure. We take leave with regret of the kindly, garrulous, incompetent old man, who would have been beloved by all had he not aspired to be the ruler of a great nation. But his party remained, thanks largely to his untiring energy, and in the late proceedings had presented a united front against those who attacked the constitution. In his enthusiasm for the cause they upheld Chatham chose to forget their leader's insult to him in 1766, spoke of Rockingham's 'knot of spotless friends such as ought to govern the country,' and made overtures to them through Temple, Keppel and Saunders. 'Whatever differences may have been between us,' he said, 'they must be forgotten. . . . When the contest is *pro aris et focis* . . . the state of the nation is such that all private animosities must subside.' In these utterances Chatham took an unduly

[1] Burke's expression for a vehicle which appears to have been a tandem. See also Ashbourne, *Pitt*, p. 4.

[2] *Chatham MSS.* 24.

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sanguine view of the Rockinghams' energy and zeal for co-operation. Burke himself, the master mind of the party, admitted 'the coldness and dilatoriness of many of our friends in their manner of acting,' and lamented that unscrupulous demagogues 'take the lead to which others are entitled, and they soon come to a power not natural to them, by the remissness of those who neither know how to be effectual friends or dangerous enemies or active champions in a good cause.' Chatham was almost as odious to Burke as the demagogues—Chatham, with his 'significant, pompous, creeping, explanatory, ambiguous' language, and his politics, 'to keep hovering in air, over all parties, and to souse down where the prey may prove best.'[1] Burke was afraid, with reason, that if Chatham joined them it would be to lead them, and he preferred his inarticulate marquis as a figure-head. Savile, one of the most public-spirited members of the party, was equally cautious, and the Duke of Richmond was afraid of association with the Grenvilles. Accordingly Rockingham held coldly aloof, and when Chatham, feeling at the moment too infirm to make the journey to London, begged him to come to Hayes to talk over plans, replied haughtily that he lived in Grosvenor Square.[2] But Chatham was not lightly put off; though unsuccessful in forming an open alliance with the Rockinghams, before the meeting of Parliament he had explained his own views and had heard enough of theirs to make concerted action possible.

Next he attempted to make a breach in the Ministry itself. He could count on Camden; but Granby, though staggered, was still undecided. Chatham attached extraordinary importance to gaining Granby. Though not prominent in Parliament this fine soldier had considerable family influence and the same kind of reputation with the general public for taking sound, unprejudiced views as the eighth Duke of Devonshire with his generation. In the country, which Chatham was bent on arousing, no resignation was likely to create

[1] *Correspondence*, i, 220; see also pp. 206, 196 and *passim*.

[2] Walpole, *Memoirs*, confirmed by *Add. MSS.* 35375, f. 19 (quoted by Winstanley, *Chatham and the Whig Opposition*, p. 290).

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so deep an impression as Granby's. He was therefore urged by Chatham and Calcraft to resign, and to resign at once before the Ministry was prepared for the blow or he himself could be talked over 'at the place where it rains snares.' But, though still more shaken, he was persuaded by Grafton to postpone his resignation until the session had begun. He and Camden both waited for Chatham's first speech to give them the final impulse.

On January 9, 1770, Parliament was opened. Tumults in the street greeted the King on his way to the House, and Lord Mansfield was mobbed. At the entrance to the House of Lords a great crowd had collected and was precipitated pell-mell inside as soon as the doors were opened. Among others who were thus rudely thrust in was one Cradock, who has recorded his experiences of the day. He was given a seat by his friend Lord Carlisle between himself and another peer, whom he did not at first recognise, and, after a vain attempt to leave when the King retired and candles were lighted, resigned himself to sit out the debate fasting. In his Speech the King passed lightly over American and foreign affairs, said nothing about the popular discontents, but descanted in the language 'of a ruined grazier' on 'the distemper among the horned cattle.'[1] After the Address, which reprobated the Americans' 'unwarrantable' conduct, had been duly moved and seconded, Cradock's neighbour, whom he now recognised as Lord Chatham, got up to speak. He had heard, he said, with great concern of the distemper among the cattle: not the cattle, however, but the alarming state of the nation had called upon him, forced him to come forward to pay the debt he owed his country until his latest breath. Abroad the outlook was disquieting and in America no less so.

January 9, 1770.

I have not altered [quoth he] my general ideas with regard to the principles upon which America should be governed. I own I have a leaning towards that country. I love liberty wherever it is seated, it is a plant that ought to be cherished; and that country

[1] The Duke of Grafton and Lord Grosvenor, whose matrimonial troubles were public property, were ironically complimented on the King's feeling allusion to their case.

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was settled upon ideas of liberty, and, to use the language of Scripture, the vine has taken deep root and spread through the land. I own they have done wrong in many things, yet I would not use so harsh an expression as to talk of 'unwarrantable combinations.' Two millions of subjects should be treated more candidly. . . . But the seat of the wound is at home: the notorious dissatisfaction expressed by the whole English nation is not to be allayed by soothing addresses, . . . it must be examined into by the peers, the hereditary councillors of the king, whom they call cousin and have the right to kiss his cheek.

If the peers neglected their duty, he warned them, quoting from Robertson's 'History of Charles V,'[1] the same fate might befall them as had overtaken the grandees of Spain, who were shorn of their own authority after helping the king to destroy the Cortes. He concluded by a motion to take into consideration the causes of discontent and especially 'the refusing, by a resolution of one branch of the legislature only, to the subject his common right and depriving the electors of Middlesex of their free choice of a representative.' Though the report of Chatham's words does not give that impression, this speech was a failure. He had been looking forward to this day for weeks and had been over-anxious lest the gout should keep him away: in consequence he was disconcerted and hesitating in his utterance; and, owing, it was said, to the loss of teeth, his voice was much lowered. Cradock, who had heard Mr. Pitt at his best, was disappointed and so was Chatham himself. Turning to Cradock as he sat down, 'Have you ever heard me before?' he demanded of him. 'Not in this House, my lord.' 'In no House, I hope,' said Chatham, 'have I ever before so disgraced myself; I feel quite ill and have been alarmed and annoyed this morning before I arrived; I scarce know what I have been talking about.'

Chatham's voice stirred Camden, who rose to make an

[1] The late Mr. Gladstone was not the first great statesman to increase the sale of a book by public allusion to its merits. In consequence of Chatham's praise Robertson's book was advertised in America as 'praised . . . quoted and recommended in the British House of Lords by the most illuminated and illuminating of all modern patriots, Wm. Pitt, now Earl of Chatham.' (*New Jersey Archives*, i, xxvii, 316.)

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amazing confession of his own weakness in the Cabinet. Often, he said, had he drooped or hung his head in council and disapproved by his looks those steps which he knew his avowed opposition could not prevent. After declaring himself in favour of Chatham's amendment to the Address, if, added he, in the character of a judge he were to pay any respect to the unconstitutional and illegal vote of the House of Commons he should look upon himself as a traitor to his trust and an enemy to his country. The effect of this bombshell in the ministerial camp was not diminished by the legal precedents quoted by Mansfield against Chatham's motion, the fears he expressed of a dispute between the two Houses, or his solemn declaration that his opinion on the proceedings of the House of Commons was locked up in his own breast and would die with him. But his speech had one good result that it brought up his old adversary once more. This time Cradock was not disappointed. On the spur of the moment Chatham poured out a torrent of eloquence that utterly astonished; the change was inconceivable, the fire had kindled, and the House was electrified.

> Talk not of precedents [he cried]. I have listened to a miserable series—I disregard them all—they are so many *pattararas* fired against the adamantine wall of the constitution. I shall not follow the lawyer into the dusty scraps of antiquity. . . . I boast a sovereign contempt for them. I have, 'tis true, read the Petition of Right; and, my Lords, there is one plain maxim, to which I have invariably adhered through life, that in every question in which my liberty or my property are concerned, I should consult and be determined by the dictates of common sense. But to search in all the flaws of antiquity with a curious mischief—to run into every offensive crevice and to wind and meander and spin some silky line, entangling our plain sense, and defacing those clearly delineated ideas, which should be fixed in every man's mind and should direct his conduct—without which we can neither obey nor oppose with propriety—'tis insupportable—the English will never suffer it. I spoke of precedents,—

and he brought out a stream of precedents from the Statute Book, quoting the Bill of Rights, and Magna Charta itself, to

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confound the lawyer. As he rolled out the famous name of Magna Charta he was seized with a sudden inspiration:

My Lords [he appealed to the successors of the men who had wrung it from the tyrant], my Lords, let us not degenerate from the glorious example of our ancestors, who obtained from their sovereign that great acknowledgment of national rights contained in Magna Charta. Those iron barons (for so I may call them when compared with the silken barons of modern days) were the guardians of the people. Yet their virtues, my Lords, were never engaged in a question of such importance as the present. . . . Are all the generous efforts of our ancestors, are all those glorious contentions . . . reduced to this conclusion, that instead of the arbitrary power of a king we must submit to the arbitrary power of a House of Commons? If this be true, my Lords, what benefit do we derive from the exchange? Tyranny, my Lords, is detestable in every shape; but in none so formidable as when it is assumed and exercised by a number of tyrants. . . . Great pains have been taken to alarm us with the consequences of a difference between the two Houses of Parliament. . . . My Lords, five hundred gentlemen are not ten millions; and if we *must* have a contention, let us take care to have the English nation on our side. . . . If they desert their cause they deserve to be slaves. This Middlesex case is laying the axe to the root of the tree of liberty. Let us save this noble, this amiable constitution thus dangerously invaded at home. . . . Let slavery exist nowhere amongst us. It is of so dangerous, so cantankerous a nature, if it is established in any part of the dominions it will spread through the whole. . . . My Lords, this is not merely the cold opinion of my understanding, but the glowing expression of what I feel. It is my heart that speaks.

He sank down exhausted, then, recognising Cradock for the first time, shook him by the hand. 'I hope now your lordship is satisfied?' Cradock ventured to inquire. 'Yes, Sir,' answered Chatham with a smile, 'I think I have now redeemed my credit.'[1]

[1] For this debate see Francis's report, W. S. Johnson's version in the *Trumbull Papers* (*Massachusetts Historical Collections*, ix) and Grattan's and Cradock's *Memoirs*. Cradock's account, circumstantial in some details, unfortunately does not specify the substance of Chatham's speeches and merely indicates the occasion as the opening of Parliament shortly after the Middlesex election. But it can hardly be doubted that he refers to this debate: after 1766 Chatham attended no other opening of Parliament but this one until 1777, when the Middlesex election was ancient history;

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This speech worked wonders. On the same evening, in the Commons, Granby recanted his errors on the Middlesex election: Camden told Grafton he was hourly expecting to be dismissed. The whole Ministry was tottering, for Grafton also, though he made a bold front to Chatham in the debate, had long been seeking an excuse to resign. But 'to awaken the King into a just sense of this perilous moment,' Chatham saw that no breathing space should be allowed for recovery; the blows must be struck thick and fast, the 'cobweb plea for time, urged by a hard-pressed minister, to whom moments may be safety,' must be ignored. He himself worked like the madman Mansfield called him, throwing fireballs into the enemies' camp. Once more he used every argument to induce Granby to resign on the spot. When Granby gave Grafton the twenty-four hours' respite for which he begged, Chatham was in despair; and only when news came that Granby would certainly resign next day was his 'heart enough at ease to sleep to-night upon the hope of to-morrow.' Camden was dismissed, but to Chatham's chagrin, consented, until a successor was found to 'drag the Great Seal . . . at the heels of a desperate

and Cradock's statement about street tumults is incidentally confirmed by Calcraft's warning to Chatham, two days before, that there would be a great concourse of weavers at the opening of Parliament (*Chatham Correspondence*, iii, 376–7). It is true that Cradock's story of Chatham's failure in his first speech is not borne out by the speech as reported by Francis; but speeches that read well sometimes sound halting and ineffective in delivery; moreover Horace Walpole and the French envoy, who heard the first speech, indirectly confirm Cradock's account, both saying that Chatham was not at his best on this day, and Walpole that his second speech was attacked by Sandwich for its rhetoric. The account of this speech purporting to be by Grattan cannot have been based on Grattan's personal observation, for Grattan was in Dublin on January 9, and did not reach London till April 19. Possibly Grattan had an account of the second speech from his friend Boyd, and, as he several times afterwards heard Chatham speak, he may have written a version based partly on his own recollections of later speeches, partly on an account by Boyd. The passage in Grattan's version about awakening the King certainly occurred in a later speech. In the extracts from the speech given in the text, Francis's version has been mainly used with additions from Johnson, who is particularly useful on the American passage, and a phrase or two from Grattan which, if not used then by Chatham, undoubtedly were in some speech of this session. Indeed, it is obvious that Chatham often repeated telling phrases or ideas when speaking of the same subject, e.g. 'this venerable, this lovely constitution' in his speech of December 9, 1762 (see above, p. 146), and 'this noble, this amiable constitution,' in the foregoing speech.

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minister.' Lord Coventry and the Duke of Beaufort and two Lords of the Admiralty resigned 'for the honour of Lord Chatham and their country's quiet.' And while deserters from the Ministry were coming over to him, he was strengthening his own position by a formal alliance with the Rockinghams. Pocketing all false pride he paid his visit to Grosvenor Square. Even Burke and the marquis had to recognise that his voice alone was worth a host; by the end of January Chatham could speak publicly of his cordial union with them 'upon a principle, which, I trust, will make our union indissoluble. It is not to possess the emoluments of government, but, if possible, to save the state.' On January 27 Grafton himself abandoned his post.[1]

But Chatham's most formidable adversary still remained. While his ministers were deserting him, George III stood undaunted. With tactful words and judicious favours he kept many of the wayward in the ranks: he revived the spirits of his host by his own obstinate optimism, and filled up the gaps as soon as they occurred. To Charles Yorke he offered the Great Seal. Almost every reputable member of the bar had tacitly agreed not to accept a post from which Camden had been turned out for expressing his opinion on the Middlesex election; but Charles Yorke had made the Great Seal the goal of ten years' vacillation. At first even he, after a day spent in reflection, was shamed by his friends into refusing. But the King knew his man. On January 17 he called Yorke

[1] On Granby's resignation and Camden's dismissal see Winstanley, *Chatham and the Whig Opposition*, 291–3, and the references there given. Mr. Winstanley passes a more severe judgment on the conduct of Granby, Camden, and Chatham than is given in the text. Though Camden was to blame for not speaking out at the Cabinet (see above, p. 252, *note*), after he had seen Chatham in November he let all the world know his opinion on the Middlesex election (*Grenville Papers*, iv. 477–9). Chatham undoubtedly wished Camden and Granby to resign or be turned out at the time most inconvenient to the Ministry, but he was quite frank about it and employed no underhand intrigue. From November 1769, at any rate, it was known to everybody concerned that Camden and Granby disagreed with the Ministry on important matters, and it then became a question of manœuvring for position. The King was anxious to have the nominal support of the two delinquents as long as it suited him; Chatham wished their departure to be made with so much ostentation that it should shake the Ministry to its foundations.

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into the Closet, bewildered him with cunning appeals to his loyalty and the more powerful threat that, once refused, the offer would never be renewed, and sent him forth with the Great Seal in his pocket. Three days later Charles Yorke was dead: on the fourth, wrote his wife, 'the proper officers came for the Great Seal and the King and his ministers forgot that there ever was such a man.'[1] Since with Yorke had died the only man both willing to take the office and capable of performing its duties, George III put the Great Seal in commission and made Mansfield Speaker of the Lords. When Grafton resigned, many thought that the King would be bound to have recourse to Rockingham or Chatham and agree to a dissolution of the parliament that had 'duly elected' Luttrell. But, sooner than dissolve the parliament that had registered his own decree, or take either Rockingham or Chatham as his minister, the King told Conway he would abdicate or have recourse to the sword. Such heroic measures, however, were not needed, for in his Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord North, George III had a man of proved capacity to be his mouthpiece. Chatham, in a speech delivered five years later, praised his financial ability and capacity for management in time of peace, but said that for a great crisis, 'when the interests of a divided empire were to be reconciled and all its springs to be put in motion,' he was not the man.[2] Though not entirely devoid of convictions North was too indolent and good-humoured to press them against his royal master's wishes: a man of imperturbable serenity, he was never at a loss in debate and always ready to supply a corrupt House of Commons with plausible reasons for following the dictates of self-interest: unlike most of the King's Friends, who were a greedy and rapacious crew, he never importuned the King for personal favours. On the first intimation from Grafton that he meant to resign, George III wrote commanding North to accept the Treasury; and North at once obeyed.

[1] A fuller account of this sorrowful episode is given in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3rd series, vol. ii, 'The Eclipse of the Yorkes.'

[2] From Garnier's account of speech of January 22, 1775, in *Aff. Etr. Angl. Cor. Pol.* 508, f. 92.

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After ten years of anxious endeavour George III had at last secured the man fitted to play minister to his Patriot King.

Thus the breach made by Chatham in his first furious onset had been hastily repaired; but this was only the beginning of a long campaign. For two sessions he hammered away unceasingly at King and Ministry, never acknowledging defeat, always hoping to arouse the country, even if he could make no impression on the peers. But though his personal following had been strengthened by Camden and a few other survivors of his Ministry, he was not well supported by his auxiliaries. The Middlesex election was the only question on which the ill-assorted sections of the Opposition were at one. On America they all differed: the Rockingham Whigs, who alone had any voting strength in the minority, insisted on the right of direct taxation but waived it in practice, thus standing midway between Grenville, who was for enforcing direct taxes, and Chatham who denied the right.[1] Again, the Rockinghams were always jealous of Chatham's pre-eminence. Only a few weeks after the 'cordial union' they made much ado about altering the date of a motion to suit his convenience, fearing lest they should be thought to take their orders from him.[2] His known abhorrence of their fetish of party was another grave cause of offence; and Burke's waspish allusion in his great pamphlet of April 1770 to 'the cant of "not men but measures," . . . a sort of charm by which many people get rid of every honourable engagement,' was not calculated to make matters easy between the allies. Moreover the Whigs had little stomach for the strenuous fighting exacted by Chatham. Most of them were county magnates, who preferred their local interests to service in Parliament, where they were always beaten. Quarter sessions or the Mayor of Chichester's banquets had to be attended; a sudden thaw in February called away many 'to get the little fox-hunting which the season allows.'[3] They

[1] W. S. Johnson (*Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 5th series, vol. ix, 357 *sqq.*) says that the three parties adopted the Rockingham position as a compromise. But Chatham never admitted the right to tax America.

[2] Winstanley, *Chatham and the Whig Opposition*, p. 341 and note.

[3] Rockingham, ii, 178; *Chatham Correspondence*, iv, 97.

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felt they had satisfied the claims of patriotism if they engaged in set debates on the old lines of procedure, and had no conception of arousing new forces to help them in a desperate struggle. In spite of this lukewarm attitude Chatham was determined not to quarrel, if he could help it, with the only allies he had in Parliament. He continued to express trust in Rockingham's zeal for liberty and warned Calcraft against 'any tendency towards jealousies or animosities between different parts of the combined forces.' But at times his impetuous nature burst forth in indignant exclamation.

> The Marquis is an honest and honourable man [he wrote after six months' experience of the party's timidity], but 'moderation, moderation!' is the burden of the song among the body. For myself I am resolved to be in earnest for the public, and shall be a scarecrow of violence to the gentle warblers of the grove, the moderate Whigs and timid statesmen.

The difference between Chatham and the Whigs on the cause and cure of the State's ailments was in fact fundamental. While fully alive to the iniquity of the Middlesex election decision, they could see no other remedy for the evils it revealed in the parliamentary system than a return to the old predominance of the Whig party; and regarded it more as an attack on their own privileges than as a symptom of constitutional decay. They could hardly understand Chatham's excitement when he called upon them to give up banquets, quarter sessions, and even fox-hunting, as if the safety of the nation were at stake. This is exactly what Chatham did think. To him the cause of liberty, for which he was fighting, was a holy cause. To him there was nothing canting or exaggerated in the solemn toast proposed at the Guildhall to Lord Mayor Beckford and his old City friends: 'May the wicked be taken away from before the King, that his throne may be established in righteousness.' The ease with which the Middlesex electors had been defrauded set him thinking on the nature of the revolution accomplished by the King. From prerogative there was nothing further to fear—the Revolution settlement had seen to that; but when he saw a House of

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Commons obediently voting whatever the King bade it he agreed with Junius that there was 'everything to apprehend from undue influence.' Thence he was led to consider the soil in which this influence flourished, a system of parliamentary representation whereby half the seats could be bought and sold in the open market or disposed of to docile followers of the Court, members of the House of Commons 'who so far forget,' he said, 'what their privileges are that they have added to the long list of venality from Esau to the present day.' The Whigs could see no great harm in a system whereby they had profited in the past and hoped again to profit in the future; but to Chatham it was a system whereby 'a great part of the English people is deprived of the greatest advantage of the constitution.' In the second debate he attended after his return, he unfolded his remedy:

February 2, 1770.

January 22, 1770.

> The boroughs . . . the rotten parts of the constitution . . . we must bear with patience, like the infirmities of the body, and submit to carry them about with us. The limb is mortified, but the amputation might be death. . . . Since we cannot cure the disorder, let us endeavour to infuse such a portion of new health into the constitution as may enable it to support its most inveterate diseases. . . . The representation of the counties is, I think, still preserved pure and uncorrupted. . . . Permit every county to elect one member more in addition to their present representation. The knights of the shire approach nearest to the constitutional representation of the country.[1]

A year later he even agreed to the City's demand for triennial parliaments, which he had at first resisted, as a method of bringing Parliament more into touch with the people whence it sprung.[2] To the Whigs such revolutionary proposals were anathema. They were as much alarmed at democratic remedies for the state of England as at the usurpation of the Crown;

[1] Chatham's son William, in introducing his resolution for parliamentary reform on May 7, 1783, adopted this plan of his father's and his expression, 'the rotten part of the constitution.'

[2] On June 1, 1770, when the City thanked him for his stand on behalf of purity of elections and reform, he pointedly refused to associate himself with the demand for triennial parliaments. On May 1, 1771, he announced to the Lords his conversion to the proposal.

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and, though they were willing to fight for liberty in their own way, all their aristocratic instincts revolted from the idea that the people, for whom the liberty was needed, should make its voice heard. When, for example, Chatham said that the people demanded a dissolution, Rockingham seemed to look on that as an argument against the proposal. Chatham, on the contrary, was striving all the time to make the people articulate: he encouraged the stout Yorkshiremen's petition, upon which their own county magnates, the Cavendishes and Rockingham, threw cold water: he approved, if he did not actually draft, the outspoken remonstrances of the City to the King: in one of his speeches this 'scarecrow of violence' demanded of the Lords if they were waiting 'till the nation assembled carries out her own justice';[1] in another prayed, if the breach in the constitution was not effectually repaired, that discord might prevail for ever. He prophesied among his friends that if the moderate reform of Parliament which he proposed were not soon granted, before the end of the century the people would rise in savage revolt and take it for themselves.

February 2, 1770.

January 22, 1770.

In the session, which lasted from January 9 to May 19, 1770, Chatham took part in ten debates, often speaking more than once in the same evening. He first seems to have hoped that the hereditary counsellors of the Crown might stand forth on behalf of the constitution abandoned by a corrupt House of Commons, but he soon despaired of the 'silken barons' and began to appeal to the larger audience who read reports or accounts of his speeches.[2] Many of the debates were originated by himself: on February 12 he moved that the capacity of a person to be elected does not depend finally on the House of Commons; on May 1 he brought in a bill to reverse the adjudications of the other House against Wilkes; on the 4th he protested against the King's answer to the City

January 9, 22; February 2, 12; March 2, 14; April 5; May 1, 4, 14, 1770.

[1] *Aff. Etr. Angl. Corr. Pol.* 490, f. 204 ('Nouvelles du Parlement').

[2] On February 8, 1771, the French ambassador wrote to his Court of Chatham: 'Il fonde toujours l'effet de ses discours sur l'enthousiasme du peuple et il regarde ce moyen comme le seul qui puisse échauffer les têtes, animer les esprits et accroître les forces de l'opposition en liant ses intérêts avec ceux de la nation' (*Aff. Etr. Angl. Corr. Pol.* 495, f. 209).

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Remonstrance, and on the 14th he moved an address for a dissolution on the ground of the kingdom's dangerous state. He also warmly supported Rockingham's motion for a committee on the state of the nation, Lord Craven's proposal to increase the navy, the demand for the Civil List accounts and George Grenville's bill for a more judicial method of deciding upon controverted elections. Not content with speaking in a House where he was always in a minority, he more than once exercised the right of formal protest as a record of his disapproval of the majority's proceedings.[1] The cankering sore of the Middlesex election was always uppermost in his thoughts, but every topic served his purpose of arousing indignation against those who plotted to undermine the nation's liberties. He seemed purposely anxious to provoke his opponents and bring matters to a head by the violence of his language.

May 1, 1770.

It is said, my Lords, that the spirit of discontent has gone abroad; I should be surprised if it had not . . . when a corrupt House of Commons inverts all law and order. . . . When a majority in that House becomes a minister's state-engine to effect the worst of purposes and to produce such monstrous and unconstitutional acts, one cannot help exclaiming in the language of Shakespeare:

> Fie on't! Oh fie! 'tis an unweeded garden
> That grows to seed; things rank and gross in nature
> Possess it merely.

Though I will not aid the voice of faction [he continued], I will aid the just complaints of the people; and whilst I have strength to crawl I will exert my poor abilities in their service; and I pledge myself to their cause, because I know it is the cause of truth and justice.

He thundered against 'the riches of Asia that have been poured in upon us and have brought not only Asiatic luxury but, I

January 22, 1770.

[1] Chatham signed five protests of the Lords: (1) February 2, 1770, against Luttrell's election; (2) also February 2, 1770, against Marchmont's motion in support of the House of Commons; (3) May 1, 1770, against the rejection of his bill on the Middlesex election; (4) December 10, 1770, reprobating the tumult in the House of Lords; (5) February 14, 1771, on the conduct of the Falkland Islands negotiation (J. E. Thorold Rogers, *A Complete Collection of Protests*, vol. ii).

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fear, Asiatic principles of government,' and in contrast to
March 2, 1770. these Asiatic principles recalled the liberty of America, where the Ministry's incompetence was equally glaring. 'I have been thought,' he said, 'to be, perhaps, too much the friend of America. I own I am a friend to that country. I love the Americans, because they love liberty.' He called for an inquiry into the supine attitude of ministers who permitted Choiseul's 'pacific campaign' in Corsica and even condescended to alarm the merchants about the state of the navy by a melodramatic hint at some 'secret blow of hostility' contemplated by France.[1] He told the ministers when they brought on a sur-
February 17, 1770. prise motion in support of the House of Commons at midnight, 'if the constitution must be wounded, let it not receive its mortal stab at this dark and midnight hour, when honest men are asleep in their beds, and when only felons and assassins
March 14, 1770. are seeking for prey.' He declared that Camden had been dismissed for his opinion in favour of the right of election in the people, and, when his words were taken down, 'neither denied, retracted, nor explained the words, but reaffirmed them.' It was thought that he was anxious to provoke his adversaries to send him to the Tower for such words casting reflection on the King,[2] but they were wise enough not to gratify him. In the same debate on the Civil List debt, due to the enormous sums spent on corruption, he made a pointed attack on the King's veracity, contrasting him, much to his disadvantage, with his grandfather.[3] In a debate in the following session
November 28, 1770. he spoke yet more ominously of his sovereign.

> Is it that the King [he exclaimed], like a stranger in England, knows nothing of its feeling? or that, encompassed with the com-

[1] Louis XV was so indignant at the animus displayed by Chatham against France in this speech that he wrote to Broglie: 'M. Pit est un fol et fort dangereux. Ce qu'il a dit de nous mériteroit la corde, et l'exécution seroit dans tout autre païs. Quels cruels voisins nous avons là' (Boutaric, *Louis XV Correspondance Secrète*, i, 408). The allusion was afterwards interpreted as referring to Spain's attack on the Falkland Islands, which occurred two months later. But there seems no doubt that Chatham referred to France in his speech.

[2] *Aff. Etr. Angl. Corr. Pol.* 491, f. 187.

[3] See above, p. 58. The younger Beckford relates that Chatham privately characterized George III as guilty of the greatest duplicity (*New Monthly Magazine*, lxxi, 158).

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plaints of his people, they neither reach his heart nor his attention? Strange unconstitutional insensibility, productive of despair, not loyalty!—and when the people are obliged to despair, my Lords, the consequences must be terrible. In this conjuncture, so critical and so alarming, I hope something may happen astonishing, stupendous like a peal of thunder, or that some figure like that which

> Drew Priam's curtain in the dead of night,
> And would have told him half his Troy was burn'd:—
> But Priam found the fire, ere he his tongue—

may open his eyes if they are closed and let in upon his mind the distracted and degraded state of his Empire.

He was called to order: he stopped, and then said: 'I am misunderstood. I said, *if* they are closed—but I now withdraw the condition and say they are closed and must be opened to the state of his Empire, to which he is a stranger.' [1]

At the beginning of the session of 1770–1 Chatham's attention was diverted from the Middlesex election by the serious outlook in foreign affairs. During the parliamentary recess the English settlement sent out to the Falkland Islands during Chatham's own Ministry [2] was attacked by a greatly superior Spanish force and compelled to evacuate Port Egmont. News of the outrage was received in England early in September

[1] This passage is quoted in Grattan's *Memoirs*, i, 231, 236, as part of the speech of January 9, 1770, to which it obviously does not belong (see note [1] pp. 261–2, above). In his speech of May 1, 1770, on the bill for reversing the House of Commons adjudications on the Middlesex election, Chatham used very similar language: 'I am afraid, my Lords, this measure has sprung too near the throne—I am sorry for it, but I hope his Majesty will soon open his eyes and see it in all its deformity,' and he was then called to order by Lord Pomfret. (See the report in *Chatham Correspondence*, iii, 451, confirmed in *Aff. Etr. Angl. Corr. Pol.* 492, f. 20.) But his impressive use of the quotation from 2 *Henry IV*, i, 1, is almost certainly to be ascribed to the speech of November 28, 1770. There exists, it is true, no report of this speech, merely an epitome by Walpole, who does not quote this passage, though it would fit in with his description. But by a curious coincidence, in a letter written the day before to Lyttelton, asking him to attend the debate (Phillimore, *Lyttelton*, ii, 760), Chatham quotes the same lines from Shakespeare which Grattan ascribes to him and which it can hardly be doubted he used in his speech next day. This is a good instance of Chatham's habit of returning lovingly again and again to an idea or a phrase that pleased him. (See vol. i, p. 270, note [3].)

[2] See above, p. 223.

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1770, but it was several months before the Ministry were able to extract any form of apology from Spain, which was backed up by France: indeed England, though quite unprepared, seemed on the brink of war with both Bourbon Powers. At length, at the end of January, when Choiseul had paid the penalty for his neglect of the du Barry by being suddenly dismissed, Spain made a grudging apology. There was, however, some ground for suspecting that even this was only obtained after a private hint had been given that no more English settlements would be made on the Falkland Islands.[1] Chatham's indignation at the insult to the Crown, at the delay in obtaining satisfaction, and at its ambiguous character when it came, is not surprising. When one of the ministers in the House of Lords excused the delay on the plea of con-

November 22, 1770.

sidering Spanish 'punctilios,'—'Spanish punctilios, indeed!' thundered Chatham. 'We are to be wonderfully tender of the Spanish point of honour, as if *they* had been the complainants—as if *they* had received the injury. I think he would have done better to have told us what care had been taken of the English honour.' Still more was he indignant at the reticence of ministers. For months nothing could be dragged from them about the course of the negotiations. He had no patience with the inveterate habit of diplomatists to treat foreign affairs as some mystery, which could not be trusted to the uninitiated, and believed that the free play of public opinion was the greatest safeguard for a sane foreign policy. 'I despise the little policy of concealments,' he exclaimed in his first speech of the session; 'you ought to know the whole of your situation'; and, when he was blamed by supporters of the Ministry for indiscretion in revealing the nakedness of the country, 'What,' he asked, 'have I divulged that was not known to every coffee-house boy in Portsmouth?'

[1] See St. Paul of Ewart, ii, 75, 129, 133–4, and *Chatham Correspondence*, iv, 71–2. It is clear from the correspondence, which took place in 1775 between Rochford and the French Court, that Rochford himself, who was Secretary for the Southern Department, made no suggestion about evacuating the islands. but from the wording of de Guines, the French ambassador's, letter (St. Paul, ii, 134) there is ground for believing that other less responsible ministers dropped a hint to that effect as a sop to Spain. The subject was mentioned in the House of Lords on January 20, 1775 (*Parl. Hist.* xviii, 167–8).

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When he was minister he had acted up to these principles.[1] After Abercromby's disaster in 1758, as Shelburne reminded the House of Lords,[2] 'Lord Chatham caused every particular of that melancholy event to be announced in the *Gazette* in the very terms he had received it. He did not confine himself to the mere fact that an attack had been made and that it proved unsuccessful; no, my Lords, he committed himself to the public. He did not look upon himself as responsible for victory. He laid the whole detail open to the inspection of the nation at large, and by so doing he ensured that confidence which a contrary conduct would have certainly deprived him of.'

In eight of the speeches he made this session he came back to this subject of the Falkland Islands. The greatest of them was on November 22, 1770, a speech which to Dr. Johnson seemed merely 'the feudal gabble of a man who is every day lessening that splendour of character which once illuminated the kingdom, then dazzled and afterwards enflamed it.'[3] In this speech he was moved to wrath by the Ministry's boast of activity: even Newcastle's activity after the capture of Mahon seemed to shine in comparison with theirs. This 'boasted vigour of the Ministry' awakened in him memories of a very different vigour, when Mr. Secretary Pitt was giving his orders in the Seven Years' War, and in the days of his youth, when he fought with giants, Walpole and Carteret, to whose genius he paid noble amends for past invectives.[4] It called up thoughts, too, of some of the great Englishmen who had indeed shown vigour in the past: Raleigh, 'one of the bravest officers this or any other country ever produced'; Oliver Cromwell, 'who astonished mankind by his intelligence'; and King William, the Great Deliverer. He defended his own German war, glorified Anson's services at the head of the Admiralty, deplored the weakness of the fleet under the present Ministry,[5] and then

November 22, 28; December 11, 1770. January 25; February 5, 8, 11, 14, 1771. November 22, 1770.

[1] See, for example, vol. i, p. 288; vol. ii, p. 18.
[2] May 10, 1776.
[3] In the pamphlet, *Falkland's Islands* (1771).
[4] Vol. i, p. 52.
[5] The French envoy, in reporting this to Versailles, said Chatham was right in saying England had only twelve ships of the line ready to put to sea, and advised him on that account to take up a firm attitude with the English Ministry. (*Aff. Etr. Angl. Corr. Pol.* 494, f. 178.)

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from the mellow experience of his thirty years of statecraft laid down the essential conditions of national safety.

The first great and acknowledged object of national defence in this country [he said] is to maintain such a superior naval force at home, that even the united fleets of France and Spain may never be masters of the Channel. . . . The second naval object with an English minister, should be to maintain at all times a powerful western squadron. In the profoundest peace it should be respectable; in war it should be formidable. . . . The third object indispensable, as I conceive, in the distribution of our navy is to maintain such a force in the bay of Gibraltar as may be sufficient to cover that garrison, to watch the motions of the Spaniards, and to keep open the communication with Minorca.

Self-help, as always, came first with him, but in the circumstances of his day foreign alliances could not be neglected.

When I compare [he seemed to muse aloud] the numbers of our people, estimated highly at seven millions, with the population of France and Spain, usually computed at twenty-five millions, I see a clear self-evident impossibility for this country to contend with the united power of the House of Bourbon, merely upon the strength of its own resources. They who talk of confining a great war to naval operations only, speak without knowledge or experience. We can no more command the disposition than the events of a war. Wherever we are attacked, there we must defend.

But, with all his talk of fleets and alliances, 'the internal condition of the country' was the constant background to his thoughts:

We may look abroad for wealth or triumphs or luxury: but England, my Lords, is the mainstay, the last resort of the whole empire. Are the grievances the people have so long complained of removed? . . . My Lords, I myself am one of the people. I esteem that security and independence, which is the original birthright of an Englishman, far beyond the privileges, however splendid, which are annexed to the peerage. I myself am by birth an English elector, and join with the freeholders of England as in a common cause. . . . It is not a ceremonious recommendation from the Throne that can bring back peace and harmony to a discontented people. That insipid annual opiate has been administered so long, that it has lost its effect. Something substantial, something effectual must be done. The public credit of the nation stands next in degree to the

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rights of the constitution; it calls loudly for the interposition of Parliament . . . [against] a set of men . . . who are known to live in riot and luxury upon the plunder of the ignorant, the innocent, the helpless . . . the [set of] miserable jobbers of Change Alley or lofty Asiatic plunderers of Leadenhall Street. . . . My Lords, the difficulty of the crisis calls for a wise, a firm, a popular administration. . . . It must be popular that it may begin with reputation. It must be strong within itself that it may proceed with vigour and decision. But [he added, in gentle criticism of Burke's apotheosis of party in 'The Present Discontents'] one formed upon an exclusive system of family connections or private friendships cannot, I am convinced, be long supported in this country. Yet, my Lords, no man respects or values more than I do, that honourable connection which arises from a disinterested concurrence in opinion upon public measures, or from the sacred bond of private friendships and esteem. What I mean is that no single man's private friendships or connections, however extensive, are sufficient of themselves either to form or overturn an administration. I shall trouble your lordships with but a few words more. . . . Though we are not consulted, it is our right and duty, as the King's great hereditary council, to offer him our advice. Let me warn the ministers of their danger. If they are forced into a war, they stand it at the hazard of their heads. If by an ignominious compromise they should stain the honour of the Crown, or sacrifice the rights of the people, let them look to the consequences, and consider whether they will be able to walk the streets with safety.

In this session he also carried on a prolonged struggle with his old enemy Mansfield on the question whether a judge or a jury should decide on the criminality of a libel. The legal authorities were not agreed on the question. Jeffreys in Charles II's time, as might be expected, had entirely withdrawn from the jury the decision of criminality; but in the trial of the Seven Bishops the judges had left it to the jury, and Chief Justice Holt, the great judge in Queen Anne's reign, had done the same. Under George II the judges had tried to recapture this right from juries—successfully in Franklin's case of 1731, when Chief Justice Raymond had told the jury they had nothing to decide except whether the paper complained of was published or not—and unsuccessfully in Owen's case of 1752, where, after a strong pleading from Pratt against

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the judges' and prerogative lawyers' claim, the jury by their verdict maintained their right of deciding upon the criminality of a libel.[1] In the case of Woodfall, the publisher of 'Junius,' tried before him in 1770, Mansfield clearly laid down that 'whether the paper . . . was in law a libel was a question of law' and therefore no concern of the jury: other minor points arose on this trial, but this was the main point on which Chatham fastened.[2]

There was a constitutional reason of infinite moment to a free people why a jury should always determine what was or was not a libel. At that time nearly all the informations for libel were filed by the Crown against writers like 'Junius' opposed to the Government. Chatham saw that if Mansfield's decisions were accepted as the proper interpretation of the law, the free expression of opinion in the press would be left entirely at the mercy of crown lawyers and prerogative judges who chose to call a publication libellous, and then there would be an end to all liberty. Taking his stand on the authority of great judges like Holt and of his own friend Camden, he denounced Mansfield's doctrine as a novel and unconstitutional usurpation, and his directions to the jury as 'contrary to law, repugnant to practice, and injurious to the dearest liberties of the people.' Mansfield, always a timid man, eluded the encounter, in full security that the Court party would never abandon a judge who held such a useful doctrine. Chatham on this point had a serious quarrel with the 'gentle warblers': they were willing to allow the past to go by default and to introduce a bill safeguarding the rights of juries for the future. But Chatham would not for a moment admit that the law of England ever had been as Mansfield laid it down, and was convinced that the introduction of a bill admitting it to have been so would simply strengthen the hands of

December 5, 10, 11, 1770.

[1] In this case the jury, influenced by Pratt's pleading, brought in a verdict of 'Not guilty,' although the judge directed them to bring in a verdict on the publication only, of which there was no doubt. (*State Trials*, xviii, 1228.)

[2] In this matter Francis gave considerable help to Chatham. On December 1, 1770, he sent Calcraft, to be forwarded to Chatham, an account of Mansfield's judgment with comments, some of which Chatham incorporated in his speech. (Parke and Merivale, i, 363 *sqq.*).

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the prerogative lawyers. 'A tub for the whale thrown out by the screeners' he called the Whigs' bill, and fought strenuously for a declaratory bill. But he failed to persuade his own side even to amend the bill by making it declaratory in Committee:[1] and it was reserved for Charles Fox, then a brilliant supporter of the Ministry, twenty-two years later to pass a bill embodying Chatham's view.[2]

One more attempt to rescind the resolutions of 1770 about the Middlesex election, and one more motion for a dissolution, and Chatham brought his labours of these two arduous sessions to a close. 'Were I but ten years younger,' he said in his last speech, 'I should spend the remainder of my days in America, which has already given the most brilliant proofs of its independent spirit': so sunk were his hopes of recovering English liberty. The struggle against the new order of government, so hopefully begun in January 1770, had by May 1771 become desperate. The Opposition, far from gaining, were losing ground in Parliament and the country. The interest in Wilkes was diminishing, and 'Junius's' attack on the King had provoked a reaction. The Opposition forces were dwindling from death and desertion. In October 1770 Granby died; in November Grenville, whose Contested Elections Bill was the solitary triumph of the Opposition, and whose skill in debate it was hard to replace. Soon after Grenville's death his chief followers, Suffolk, Whately and Wedderburn, joined the Ministry. 'The part of Wedderburn is deplorable, of Lord Suffolk pitiable,' sorrowfully wrote Chatham. He had especial cause to be disappointed in Wedderburn, for whom he had secured a seat and overcome the Rockinghams' prejudice against Scotsmen; but they were better judges of the man 'about whom there was something that even treachery could not trust.' Death had also cut off Chatham's old and trusted friend Beckford in June 1770. To Chatham he had always been a bulwark of strength by his knowledge of the City and his faithful support. He was, too, a good friend of the people,

April 30, May 1, 1771.

[1] *Lansdowne House MSS.* P. 27.

[2] See *State Trials*, xx, 914 *sqq.*; xxi, 851 *sqq.*, 971 *sqq.* (Erskine's speech); see also the references in the Index, under the heading 'Libel.'

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and had dared to remind the King of his duty in words still recorded at the Guildhall. At the moment of his death his loss was the more keenly felt by those who desired union in opposition, since he was the only man in the City who could hold the Wilkes and Horne Tooke factions from one another's throats. By the beginning of 1771 Chatham was once more left almost alone. Lord Camden thought himself ill-used, and ostentatiously declared he had no engagements with him; Temple was at his old game of intrigue; Shelburne went abroad on the death of his wife; the Rockinghams would no longer act with him when the excitement on the Falkland Islands had died down. 'We are reduced,' he wrote to Lady Stanhope, 'to a snug party of unhearing and unfeeling lords and the tapestry hangings; which last, mute as ministers, still tell us more than all the cabinet on the subject of Spain and the manner of treating with an insidious and haughty power.'[1]

Chatham did little immediate good by the great speeches he made in these twenty-two debates of 1770–1. Even his hope of addressing the people through the House of Lords was to some extent frustrated after the beginning of the autumn session of 1770. The majority were so dumbfounded themselves at his philippic of November 22, so alarmed at the effect it might have on the public mind, that they incontinently revived the order against the presence of strangers in the House of Lords, and so made the reporting of Chatham's speeches more difficult. On December 10, when Chatham was about to speak, ministerial peers enforced this order by driving out, in a scene of unparalleled violence and uproar, even the members of the House of Commons who were waiting below the bar. Chatham vainly tried to calm the tumult and at last left the House in indignation. Next day he urged his friends in the House of Commons to resent the insult 'with all the solemnities attendant upon the smallest collision of great bodies in the Politic system . . . and mark the thing in the largest characters

[1] In his speech of November 20, 1777, Chatham employed these tapestry hangings, which represented the defeat of the Spanish Armada, for one of his most telling effects (see p. 322).

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and strike the most without doors.'[1] But nothing could be done to make the debates more public. This attempt to suppress the report of Chatham's speeches was defended on the usual pleas of a brutal majority uncertain of its case. The King called him 'a trumpet of sedition,' and ministers accused him of laying bare England's weakness to her foes. The most important thing, he thought, was to lay bare England's weakness to herself; but he was as careful of the King's just prerogative as any man and would never countenance faction that might hurt the country. Speaking of a proposal to limit the King's discretionary power of moving troops from Ireland, 'I would not,' he said publicly, 'touch a feather of the prerogative. . . . The entire command and power of directing the local disposition of the army is the royal prerogative, as the master-feather in the eagle's wing. . . . They have disarmed the imperial bird, the *ministrum fulminis alitem*': and privately: 'the man who advised the King to suffer such a disgraceful infringement of his prerogative deserves to lose his head.'[2] Again next year, when his friends the City magistrates carried on the war against the Government to the length of refusing to back press-warrants, Chatham 'frankly declared the fullest opinion against striking at the necessary means of public safety, be the popularity of it what it may,' and asked 'how could I question the excesses of a lord chief justice, if I could hesitate publicly to demand why. . . any other magistrate in the kingdom took upon him to act in opposition to lawful authority and manifestly against the public good?'

January 22, 1770.

Chatham was not a great political philosopher. He does not, like Burke, elaborate an unchanging theory of government applicable to all circumstances. Like all the greatest statesmen he was an opportunist drawing 'from the cabinet of his own sagacious mind' inspiration for his treatment of the conditions he found existing. His opportunism indeed had a sure foundation. His political Bible was Magna Charta with the glosses and amplifications of the Petition of Right, the

[1] *Lansdowne House MSS.* P. 27 (to Shelburne, undated).
[2] *Historical MSS. Commission*, XII, x, 34.

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Habeas Corpus Act, the Bill of Rights, and Locke's 'Essay on Government.' 'I reverence and love the whole frame of our wise constitution, whereof the transcendent and sacred right to free and independent election is the only sure basis,' he jotted down as a rough note. But, unlike Burke, he was no slave to the form of the constitution: he cared far more for its spirit of liberty. To preserve liberty he would willingly give up old and introduce new customs. He is always growing, always advancing with the changing conditions of his time, and one may well believe that he would not have feared the French Revolution, which made even his son blench. 'I love peace,' he once exclaimed, 'but if our honour is to be the expense of our tranquillity let discord reign. Wisdom is decisive: a seasonable decision quells a contest—like the discharge of a cannon in a tempest it commands tranquillity.' 'A scarecrow of violence' he called himself; but with all his violence he never lost his majesty. They called him madman, impracticable, seditious: but when the country was in danger many of the ministers themselves turned instinctively to the madman to save them. When a Spanish war seemed certain it was the almost universal belief that Chatham would be summoned to conduct it or even to avert it. 'I am a moderate man,' then wrote Stanley, no longer a whole-hearted admirer, 'and yet there is nothing of which I am persuaded more than that his very name in ministry would bring Spain to what is required, and, if well managed, prevent a war.'

November 28, 1770.

Grattan, who often went to hear him in the House of Lords, says of this St. Martin's summer of his eloquence:

> He spoke in a style of conversation, not, however, what I expected . . . his style was not regular oratory, like Cicero or Demosthenes, but it was very fine and very elevated and above the ordinary subjects of discourse. He took a nobler line, and, disdaining the low affairs of debate, his conversations were about kings and queens and empires. He appeared more like a grave character advising than mixing in the debate. It was something superior to that—*it was teaching the Lords and lecturing the King.* He appeared the next greatest thing to the King, *though infinitely superior.*

Others noted this mellower and more regal tone. Referring

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to the King's contemptuous rejection of the City's petition, May 4, 1770. he is related to have told the House how he would have acted in the King's place. 'I should have wished the remonstrance to have been couched in politer terms and turned with more elegance. But had I been in office when it was presented by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, I should merely have smiled at them, and said: "they are the good citizens of London who are better at understanding the essence of things than at drawing it up"; and this he said with an air of good nature and popularity as of one used to captivate the good affections of a people.[1]

[1] *Aff. Etr. Angl. Corr. Pol.* 492, f. 20 ('Journal du Parlement'). The wax effigy of Chatham in Westminster Abbey seems to give that air of good nature and popularity.

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CHAPTER XXIV

AUTUMN DAYS

I.—The Philosopher in the Village

> He who, though thus endued as with a sense
> And faculty for storm and turbulence,
> Is yet a soul whose master-bias leans
> To home-felt pleasures and to gentle scenes;
> . . . . . .
> More brave for this, that he hath much to love.
> Wordsworth, *Character of the Happy Warrior.*

For the last seven years of his life Chatham ceased attending Parliament regularly. Once he came to plead for greater toleration to the dissenters; and he was always ready to spend his remaining strength on behalf of America, to avert or stop a fratricidal war or to prevent the total loss of the colonies. But for the heart-breaking task of arousing from apathy a generation bent on kissing the rod, he was now too old and too infirm. Had he been blessed with allies as courageous and as jealous for liberty as himself, Chatham might have found it easier to carry on the struggle without faltering; but when he surveyed the forces on which he could reckon, a grave despondency for the nation settled upon his spirits.

The times seem to me unsusceptible of system and impatient of counsel. . . . A headlong self-willed spirit has sunk the City into nothing . . . the narrow genius of old corps' connection has weakened Whiggism and rendered national union on revolution principles impossible. . . . Farthest from such a scene of things is best for a man who is sure he can do no good, and who is under the

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fullest conviction that *some* who may have meant well have totally missed their way towards the public good.

Such were his thoughts during the sessions of 1772 and 1778; and when he saw that the only subject to stir up feeling in Parliament was a Royal Marriage Bill his despair vented itself in words of savage irony.

I confess [he writes] that to see a public which slept so quietly upon the violation of electors' rights . . . awake into spirit and activity about abridging the facility of princely nuptials, surprised me not a little. This is straining at a gnat after swallowing a camel. However, I rejoice that the conscientious stomach has begun to work. Who knows but the foul feeder may throw up the camel too, and England enjoy its own again?

Moreover he was seriously ill in 1778, and after an unwonted effort in the early months of 1775 he was warned of his frailty by a return for another two years of all the symptoms of his former terrible illness. Again he could neither talk nor think of any business: his wife had to manage everything—to keep young William, the favourite son, away from home for his holidays and to be parted from her daughters in London, lest their father should suffer from their presence. 'I cannot ever be sure,' she wrote during that anxious time, 'of a quarter of an hour free from some call or other from my lord, who cannot sustain without too much emotion the idea of any friends being here, and he unable to see them, which God knows he has not the strength to do.'[1] She even had, unaided, to decide upon the momentous question whether Lord Pitt should stay to fight his brethren in America or retire from the army altogether.

Financial troubles helped to sadden the latter end of Chatham's life. Always inclined to be lavish and pompous in his style of living, during his last illness he had squandered enormous sums in useless building and in repurchasing Hayes at a fancy price. He never afterwards freed himself from the crushing debts he then incurred, and was in constant straits

[1] *Add. MSS.* 35192, f. 26, 'Bridport Papers' (December 1775).

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for money. To make matters worse, his annuity, charged upon the West India revenues, was always four or five quarters in arrear, since the King had imposed a prior charge upon the fund for pensions to his brothers; and, though nominally £3,000, it was reduced by fees and duties to £2,000.[1] In 1770 his creditors raised a scandal by their outcry against him, and the Duke of Grafton and others accused the man who had resigned office, in spite of his own and the King's entreaties, of being anxious to return because of his debts.[2] Lord North had some compunction at seeing the great minister pressed by his creditors, and in 1775 proposed to make the annuity a real £3,000, but George III was not above the meanest revenge on one whose conduct he termed 'abandoned . . . and void of the honourable sentiment of gratitude,' and refused to consider any increase of pension 'until decrepitude or death puts an end to him as a trumpet of sedition.' To supply their needs Lord and Lady Chatham were reduced to melancholy shifts. Thomas Walpole was asked in 1772 to buy back Hayes once more, but he refused, saying that 'a disappointed passion does not quickly return.'[3] Offers to let it or Burton Pynsent, when Chatham returned to Hayes in 1774, were equally unavailing. The house in the Circus, Bath, was sold to Lord Clive, and outlying parts of the Burton Pynsent property to local farmers. Hollis and other friends with experience of farming were taken into counsel, and some of the worst ex-

[1] Statement forwarded by P. Jouvencel to Chatham:

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Quarter's annuity . .				£750	0	0
Subtract—						
Treasury fees . .	2	11	0			
Fees at the Polls .	4	16	6			
Fees at the auditors'	9	10	0			
Fees to Tellers .	22	10	0			
Shilling duty . .	37	10	0			
6*d.* duty . . .	18	15	0			
4*s.* land tax . .	150	0	0			
				£245	12	6
Leaving a net . . .				£504	7	6

(*Chatham MSS.* 47.)

[2] *Aff. Etr. Angl. Corr. Pol.* 490, f. 192; 494, f. 319.

[3] *Chatham MSS.* 66.

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travagances of Chatham's own estate-management were cut down.

These, however, were mere palliatives, and to stave off more importunate creditors Lord and Lady Chatham had to borrow freely from their friends. Among others, Coutts, the banker, advanced several thousand pounds, Temple another £1,000, and Jouvencel, an official of the Privy Council Office, who for some years lived rent free at Hayes, £500. But the most accommodating of all were their Somersetshire neighbours, Captain Alexander Hood (afterwards Lord Bridport) and his wife, Pitt's old friend Molly West, who with the help of the West family advanced over £10,000 on mortgage at 4½ per cent. 'I have gone to the utmost of my credit in raising the sums I have supplied your lordship with,' wrote Hood in 1773; but neither he nor his wife seem ever to have had a moment's regret for these services. Hood once expressed to Lady Chatham a doubt 'upon the object of money transactions and I am fearful that they oftener occasion a separation of friends than promote closer ties of friendship. I am certain,' he continued, 'this cannot happen between Lord Chatham and me, but, unless Lord Pitt and your Ladyship's children are fully acquainted with the sum borrowed on the Burton Pynsent estate, they may be alarmed at it hereafter.' Two years later Mrs. Hood says her brothers will raise a further loan, 'being proud and ambitious of shewing their regard to the ease of Lord Chatham and his family.' She tells Lady Chatham: 'You and yours ought to be loved and honoured the nearer you are approached'; and after Chatham's death speaks of the 'strong marks of the most solid esteem which subsisted between your late noble-minded lord and Mr. Hood.' At this time Chatham's income could hardly have been less than £7,000, which would have been ample even for the pomp he affected, had it been well husbanded. But of this Chatham, like his father and grandfather before him and his sons after him, seemed constitutionally incapable. This childishness in his own money matters was the reverse to his disdain of making a profit out of the public; and it is characteristic of his supreme belief in himself that he seems always to have

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taken it as natural that his wealthier friends should help him in his difficulties. Like his son William [1] he never lacked for such friends to help him ungrudgingly or lost the respect of those who came to his rescue. Nevertheless his improvidence, and still more his willingness at the end of his life to accept loans from friends who were straitened by their generosity, are blots in his character.[2]

With all his 'faculty for storm and turbulence' Chatham had a soul that leaned

To home-felt pleasures and to gentle scenes,

and when away from the turmoil of Parliament was supremely happy managing his estate and educating his children. He took a hearty delight in country pursuits and had a high opinion of himself as a farmer, though practical farmers appear to have thought otherwise. At Burton Pynsent he found 'every accommodation for cattle, sheep, poultry, &c., all arranged in the greatest order and supported by Tuscan pillars';[3] and he set himself to stock this farmyard on a princely scale. Even the solicitor Nuthall is pressed into the service of looking for prime brood mares and is especially thanked for sending 'the most beautiful of sows, who arrived safe, and in full health and charms: we are looking out for a proper paramour to transmit to future times this incomparable race.' Chatham himself undertook the care of the dairy farm, while his countess looked to the dairy, but after some years the experiment was found so costly that at Hollis's entreaty he handed the farm over to a skilled bailiff. He is heard of pursuing the hare with William, and in one of his speeches on America took one of his metaphors from the sport.[4] He professed to enjoy country ale,

[1] In 1789 the merchants of London offered to raise £100,000 to pay Pitt's debts, and in 1801 several personal friends subscribed £11,700 for the same purpose. (Rose, *Diary*, i. 412 *sqq.*)

[2] Captain Alexander Hood's letters are in *Chatham MSS.* 23, his wife's *ibid.* 42. Chatham's letters to Hood are in *Add. MSS.* 35192. After Chatham's death Lady Chatham showed scant consideration to such faithful friends. In 1779 Hood was concerned in the attack on Keppel, but, though he does not appear to have behaved well in that transaction, his conduct hardly merited Lady Chatham's refusal to have anything more to say to him.

[3] Sanderson Miller, p. 430. [4] See below, p. 317.

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having read 'in the manners of our remotest Celtic ancestors much of its antiquity and invigorating qualities.' A fall from his horse keeps him within doors for some weeks, but on his recovery he returns to his active pursuits. Not content with altering the face of his own Burton Pynsent he must needs make an entirely new road, still called Chatham's Ride, at Chevening, which the Stanhopes lent him for some months, and propose to them the purchase of new fields. He employs Sir Joshua Reynolds to paint portraits of his old comrades, Granby, Temple, Saunders, Boscawen, to adorn his ball-room. He invites Garrick in a poetical epistle,

Come, taste the simple life of patriarchs old,

an invitation which Garrick declines in equally elegant verses. Altogether, when Chatham was well enough to go abroad he seems to have enjoyed himself vastly at Burton Pynsent, and with his wife and children gained the affection and admiration of the neighbours. 'She is a woman of business,' says Farmer Petty to Hollis's friend Mr. Bowring, after a talk with Lady Chatham. 'What a fine creature to breed out of!' cries Mr. Bowring. 'Such a family is not elsewhere to be seen!' they both cry together.[1]

In training his children to serve the country Chatham found his chief consolation for hopes unfulfilled in his own lifetime. Born, all of them, in the heat of struggle or in the intoxication of national triumph, with their dawning consciousness they learned the greatness of the name which they inherited. Hester and John must have remembered the joy-bells ringing in Hayes Church for Quebec and Quiberon and the conquest of Canada. When James Charles was only five he saw strange Red Indian chiefs come straight from the landing-stage at Weymouth to make obeisance to himself and his brothers and sisters, the children of the great white chief; and precocious William, aged seven, described the scene in a Latin letter to his father. Next year the bells of East Grinstead heralded the passage of the great earl's children on their way to Brighthelmstone. William's first thought on news of the

[1] *Chatham MSS.* 40 (Hollis to Chatham).

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peerage had been of joy that he was not the eldest son, 'but could serve the country in the House of Commons like papa.' After his own experience of Eton[1] Chatham would not allow any of his children to go to school, but in 1766 appointed as their tutor the Rev. E. Wilson, a good scholar devoted to his charge, which he kept until all the children were grown up.[2] Wilson's part was simply to carry out Chatham's orders in instructing the children, for their father, helped by Lady Chatham, undertook their real education himself. He pursued with them the same system which he had advocated to his nephew[3]—a thorough grounding in the best Latin and Greek authors, a careful study of English history, and a knowledge of good literature, to form the character no less than the taste of his pupils. Hester and Harriot, though tenderly watched, were treated as reasonable beings and grew up to be women as remarkable for independence as for charm: they learned Latin with their brothers, and at fifteen Harriot informed her father that he was 'non in luce modo atque in oculis civium magnus sed intus domique praestantior.'[4] Chatham himself read the Bible and Shakespeare regularly to the family, but, more than by all his reading or his set instructions, by unstudied talks about the kings and great men he had known, and the great affairs in which he had taken part, he implanted in them a practical sense of statecraft and a high ideal of duty. He always insisted on clear and honest thinking expressed in pure English and was severe on slipshod expressions. Young Beckford,[5] the orphan son of his old friend the alderman, who was left partly in Chatham's charge and sometimes came over from Fonthill to stay with the Pitt children,

[1] Vol. i, p. 34.

[2] Wilson's letters, written to Lord and Lady Chatham when he was away from home with the children, are in *Chatham MSS.* 67; others are in the *Chatham Correspondence.* Young William Pitt's Latin letter is quoted in Holland Rose, *Pitt and the National Revival*, p. 44. See also Ashbourne, *Pitt*, chap. i.

[3] Vol. i, pp. 209–11. [4] From a letter in a private collection.

[5] Young Beckford was a godson of Chatham and, after his father's death, was made a ward in chancery. Chatham wrote directions on his education to both the Lord Chancellor and his tutor Dr. Lettice, strongly advising against a public school. (See *Chatham MSS.* 19, Mrs. Beckford to Chatham, September 19, 1772; also Redding, *Memoirs of Wm. Beckford.*)

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relates an instance of this severity. One day William, just returned from a visit to friends, came to greet his father in the library. '"I hope you have spent your time agreeably, William," said the earl. "Most delectably," replied William. Lord Chatham put on one of his stern looks—sternly indeed with his eagle features he could look when he pleased. "Delectably, sir? Never let me hear you utter that affected word again. Delectably, sir!"' Naturally Chatham laid great stress on the practice of oratory. On another occasion Beckford was asked to repeat by heart a translation of a speech by Thucydides in the presence of the whole Pitt family. He did it well, and at the end Lord Chatham rose from his seat, flung aside his crutch, and, embracing the youth, exclaimed, turning to his son William, 'May you, my son, some day make as brilliant a speaker!'

It was an austere education that Chatham gave his children. Even in the letters he and his favourite William interchanged the great love between them is half obscured by the stilted phrases which both employed. Chatham makes no doubt that 'all the *Nine* . . . will sue for your love,' and rejoices that 'the college is not yet evacuated of its learned garrison'; and William is inclined to use similar periphrases, which had obviously become a common jargon of this learned household. Even the children's amusements were apt to take a solemn turn. A great deal is heard during the years 1772 and 1778 of 'Lorenzo, King of Clavinium,' a serious play written in Alexandrines entirely by the children and acted before their parents and a few friends. It would have been performed more often, had not Lord Chatham been afraid 'that the repetition of it should endanger the delicacy of virtue in the young performers,'[1] though the sentiments of the play itself are irreproachable. But in spite of its austerity the education of the Pitts was successful because it was based on no hypocrisy in the parents and so led to none in the children. He himself, speaking about the children, says, 'Such is the force of example, that I find I must watch myself in all I do,

[1] Dr. Dumaresq (*Pretyman MSS.*). The bound volume containing this play is still preserved at Chevening.

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for fear of misleading'; and his nephew relates the curb he put on his impatience for their sake.[1] A touch of insincerity in Chatham's teaching, and his children could never have borne the high strain to which he subjected them. The only failure was the second Lord Chatham, and even he is said to have been wise in council. William Pitt owed all his greatness to his father's loving care. James Charles died too young to be tested, but in their brief wedded lives Hester, who married Lord Mahon in 1774, and Harriot, married to her brother's friend E. J. Eliot in 1785,[2] showed themselves worthy daughters of a happy marriage. Sometimes, indeed, Chatham unbent and helped the children to unbend. He loved taking them with him to the seaside at Lyme Regis, where he thought 'the air the purest he ever breathed, the situation the most delightful and stately . . . and the sea nobly beautiful.' Here he took William out for rides. 'It is a delight,' he wrote to the mother in his stately way, 'to see William see nature in her free and wild compositions; and I tell myself, as we go, that the general mother is not ashamed of her child.' Between two speeches on America he found time to write rejoicing that Hester and Harriot had a good Ranelagh, 'and for the ball proposed [at his Duchess of Queensberry's], I am more than consenting, quite happy that the poor girls will have an opportunity of seeing some proper company and be delighted into the bargain.'

His chief hold over the children came from his overmastering love for them, a love of which they could not fail to be conscious. In launching his sons on their careers this love came out no less strongly than when he had them under his eye. Lord Pitt was from an early age destined for the army. At seventeen Chatham sent him to learn military science and tactics of an engineer captain settled at Lyme Regis, and then had a long correspondence with Shelburne, Barrington, and Carleton on the question whether the boy should begin service under Frederic or in Canada. At length Chatham decided for Canada, thinking him yet unripe

[1] See vol. i, p. 211.

[2] Harriot's witty letters give a charming glimpse into the Chatham family.

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for the large and obnoxious intercourse of a great foreign army. In some future day (that is when he has learned grammar enough to read the great classics with due intelligence) I shall wish nothing so much for him as an opportunity of seeing the extensive and combined manœuvres of a grand army. . . . The intimate knowledge of Canada cannot fail to prove of just importance hereafter . . . it also requires foundations in the elementary parts of regimental discipline and detail to be enabled . . . to open and extend the mind to the great principles of the art of war.'[1]

To America, therefore, young Pitt went as Carleton's aide-de-camp, leaving his father and mother anxiously waiting for news of his arrival and eagerly inquiring from friends at the Admiralty for ships to take out their letters.[2] A year later, when the civil war broke out, his mother wrote to him that as his father was too ill to take a decision, he himself had full leave to resign from the army if he chose. In February 1776, after he and his chief had been nearly captured by rebels,[3] Carleton considerately sent Pitt to England with dispatches, and Chatham in a lucid moment withdrew his son from a service in which he would have to draw the sword against his fellow-subjects. But in 1778, when the war broke out with France, Pitt re-entered the army with his father's earnest approval, and joined his regiment at Gibraltar. In 1773 the youngest son James was sent to sea in Alexander Hood's ship. 'When I hear you have hoisted your flag,' wrote the father to his friend, 'poor Lady Chatham and I will call a council of heavy hearts about our loved little boy. As things come near I confess I tremble. Twelve years old is a very tender age for action.'[4] But on William, 'the hope and comfort of my life,' Chatham's fondness was lavished. With this second son there was no need for spurring. At six years old he was

[1] *Lansdowne House MSS.* P. 27.

[2] One of Chatham's correspondents in America, named Wharton, wrote from Philadelphia: 'Every gentleman in this city (save a few dependents on administration) will rejoice at the sight of the son of our (and England's) truest and most inflexible friend and will be emulous who shall show him the greatest attention.' (*Chatham MSS.* 66.) See also *Add. MSS.* 9344, ff. 29, 32, 34, for Chatham's letters to Jackson for news from the Admiralty.

[3] *Historical MSS. Commission*, XIV, x (Pownall to Dartmouth).

[4] *Add. MSS.* 35192, f. 3.

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already 'eager Mr. William,' he soon was 'William the orator,' and by fourteen he was fit to take his place with grown men at Cambridge. A serious illness in his first term at Pembroke warned the fond parents that restraint in study was what he chiefly needed, and for the next few terms Chatham constantly preached to him moderation in wooing the Muses. Thanks to the father's and mother's care William lived, not only to help his father and draw inspiration from hearing some of his greatest speeches on America, but himself to bear the chief burden in the State for a longer period than any other English statesman.

II.—The Peacemaker

Moreover, because the preacher was wise, he still taught the people knowledge.—Ecclesiastes xii, 9.

Although during these last years Chatham rarely came to Westminster, he was not heedless of the course of politics. When his mind was unclouded he poured out to the few friends who still listened, counsels of prudence and of justice. In 1773, when the Irish Parliament ventured to propose a tax on absentee landlords, all the leading Whigs, many of whom drew large revenues from an island they had never seen, were up in arms at the outrage to property. Chatham's own follower, Shelburne, himself the owner of Irish estates, was at first as eager as the others to obtain a resolution of the two Houses of the English Parliament urging the Government to veto the obnoxious proposal. Even Chatham does not seem to have viewed the tax with favour, and, had Lord Grandison's reversion fallen to him,[1] he would have been the poorer for it; but, when consulted by Shelburne, he thought singly of the rights of the Irish Parliament.

The justice or policy [he wrote] of the tax on absentees is not the question . . . the single question is, have the Commons of

[1] See above, p. 169.

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Ireland exceeded the powers lodged with them by the essential constitution of Parliament? I answer they have not! and the interference of the British Parliament would, in that case, be unjust. . . . I am strenuously against any interference of Parliament here, in any shape whatever.

Such was Chatham's influence on Shelburne that he immediately bowed to his leader's decision; the question was never, however, brought to an issue, since the Irish Parliament afterwards rejected the proposal.

On India, 'there where I had garnered up my heart, where our strength lay, and our happiest resources presented themselves,'[1] Chatham was more in sympathy with the King and Lord North than with the Whigs. Under Charles Townshend's makeshift settlement of 1767 the evils which Chatham sought to cure had increased. The proprietors still declared excessive dividends, the officials still made enormous fortunes; while the treasury at Fort William was empty, the natives were oppressed, and in Bengal thousands were dying of famine. 'Trade in India . . . stands at present on little else than the guns of our ships and fortresses: a forced foundation which will fail, if not timely strengthened by a system of justice and humanity of sounder and larger policy. . . . India teems with iniquities so rank as to smell to earth and heaven.' This was Chatham's view; and the King, to his credit, agreed with him. He ordered Lord North to find some remedy on lines similar to those formerly urged upon his Cabinet by Chatham. A committee of investigation was set up by the House of Commons, and on its report, commended by Chatham as a creditable and able performance, in 1773 a bill was introduced whereby the smaller proprietors were shorn of their powers, the system of administration in Bengal was improved, and a court of justice established there for the first time. To these moderate reforms Burke and the Whigs offered a strenuous opposition, 'barring,' as Chatham said, 'all redress, by the unhappy misapplication of a respectable sound, *chartered rights*, to the most flagrant and ruinous abuses, to the perpetuating and

[1] *Chatham Correspondence*, iv, 331. The phrase has usually been taken to refer to America, but from the context it obviously refers to India (see p. 23).

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sanctifying unexampled iniquities, and to the extreme risk of the valuable possessions and trade of India.' Chatham agreed that 'too much tenderness cannot be used in touching charters, without absolute necessity,' but was convinced that in this case the necessity was overwhelming. He was pleased with the proposals as far as they went, regretting only that the judges of 'poor Asia . . . polluted with vice and guilt,' had not complete independence as in England. He would have attended in his place to support them but for an attack of gout, and urged all his friends to help, pouring out his soul to Shelburne in a series of letters burning with indignation at the wrongs to be righted. 'The reformation of them,' he wrote, 'if pursued in a pure spirit of justice, might exalt the nation and endear the English name throughout the world'; and again: 'The hearts and good affections of Bengal are of more worth than all the profits of ruinous and odious monopolies.'

His only speech between 1771 and 1774 was on May 19, 1772, in support of a bill to relieve dissenters of certain statutory obligations to which they had conscientious objections.[1] The bill, which had been passed in the Commons, was reserved by the King for destruction in the Lords by the bishops and their allies. Dr. Price, the eminent theologian and economist, bogged Chatham to attend on an occasion when every favourable voice would be needed, and Chatham was not deaf to his appeal. 'I rejoice sincerely at any further ease to conscience,' he answered, and came up to face the bishops. York, London, Peterborough, Oxford, and Llandaff all spoke against the bill. They had a grudge against the dissenters for objecting to an episcopate in America, and declared that the bill would endanger the system of the Church of England. The Archbishop of York was especially truculent, describing the dissenters as 'men of close ambition,' and the Bishop of Llandaff quoted atrocious doctrines from their writings. 'Shocking!' 'Monstrous!'

[1] Under the Toleration Act of William III the dissenters had to subscribe to some of the Thirty-nine Articles. Though this obligation was remitted in practice, it was still on the Statute Book and might at any time have been enforced.

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'Horrible!' interjected Chatham ironically at each damnable heresy read out by the last bishop, and, when he rose to wind up the debate, lashed the whole bench unmercifully. May 19, 1772.

The dissenting ministers [he said] are represented as men of close ambition: they are so, my Lords, and their ambition is to keep close to the college of Fishermen—not of cardinals—and to the doctrine of inspired apostles—not to the degrees of interested and aspiring bishops. But, my Lords, perhaps I may affront your rank or learning by applying to such humble antiquated authorities; for I must confess there is a wide difference between the bishops of those times and these. . . . You talk of our English Church system; but we have no system: we have a Calvinistic creed, a Popish liturgy, and an Arminian clergy. The dissenters you revile contend for a spiritual creed and spiritual worship. . . . I am for this bill, my Lords, because I am for toleration, that sacred right of nature and bulwark of truth and most interesting of all objects to fallible man.[1]

But the bishops were too strong, and the bill was rejected by 102 to 29.

Two years later America called him from his farm. In December of 1773 the flame of rebellion had burst forth against the tea duty. North, against his own convictions, but because 'the King will have it so; he means to try the question with America,' had remitted the small remaining English duty on re-exported tea and left the whole tax to be collected in America. When the first three tea ships arrived at Boston after this new regulation, two hundred citizens dressed as Indians boarded them, broke open the tea chests with hatchets, and threw them overboard. New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston followed suit. When news of these outrages came to England, the King became more than ever set on 'trying' the question with his rebellious subjects, feeling secure of a majority in Parliament, if not in the country generally. For parliamentary purposes the only classes that counted were the landed gentry and the commercial men. The former were

[1] The last sentence is quoted in a letter of Dr. Price of March 11, 1773, as having been uttered by Chatham in this speech (*Chatham MSS.* 53). Burke, in a speech of March 2, 1790, quoted Chatham's definition of the Church of England's triple system and is confirmed by Walpole (*Journals*, i, 96). See also the *Parliamentary History*.

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strongly for violent measures, the merchants were in their own interest chiefly for conciliation [1] but had less importance politically. Camden claimed the common people as abhorring the war, but whether they did from the first is doubtful. They could not understand the subtle difference between parliamentary control and parliamentary taxation, and, being taxed themselves without much representation, had no great objection to the Americans being taxed on the same terms. In Parliament Rockingham and Burke staunchly discountenanced measures of violence, but many of their followers were for punishing the insubordinate colonists. As the compliant mood of Parliament became manifest the King's measures of vengeance became progressively more severe. In March 1774 the first measure—to take away from Boston its privileges as a port—was introduced. This was followed by bills to remove offenders in Massachusetts for trial to Nova Scotia or England, to take away the charter of Massachusetts, and to quarter troops in Boston. At the same time the long-delayed bill establishing a constitution for Quebec was at last brought in, framed on lines which outraged the religious prejudice of the puritanical New Englanders, and seemed to indicate a settled policy of arbitrary government.

Chatham thought the violence of the Americans criminal, and that it would be no kindness to them to adopt their passions and wild pretensions, which seemed to him to violate the indispensable ties of civil society. Therefore, although he would have preferred to give Boston a chance of offering reparation before proceeding to harsh measures, he would not weaken the hands of ministers by opposing the Boston Port Bill. But here at any rate he would have stopped; instead of 'a generous moderation of spirit,' he saw that 'a fatal desire to take advantage of this guilty tumult of the Bostonians, in order to crush the spirit of liberty among the Americans generally, has taken possession of the heart of the Government.' America's own grievances were still unredressed, and 'America disfranchised, and her charter mutilated, may, I forebode,

[1] Even among the merchants most concerned in the American trade many were supine. (Burke, *Correspondence*, i, 474.)

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resist; . . . if this happen, England is no more.' 'What,' he had written to another friend the year before, 'can France desire more than to see her rival sinking every year from being mistress of the world, land and sea, into the bubble of her enemies and the scorn of nations? She will therefore leave us to pursue unmolested . . . our own plans of self-destruction.'[1]

The ministers were also anxious about France, where Louis XVI and Vergennes had succeeded Louis XV and the incompetent d'Aiguillon, and were not quite easy in mind as to the American policy imposed upon them by the King. Through Lyttelton they conveyed a hint to Chatham that they would welcome his advice if he would come to give it 'not in his fury; for if he does they are annihilated.' Lyttelton himself added on his own account 'the commonwealth calls loudly for a dictator and you cannot be mistaken in the man.' His follower, Shelburne, also implored him to come to the House. At first he refused: he had too long, he said, seen his no-weight to dream any longer that he could be of service to a world where he foresaw inextricable confusion and a temper in the times ripe to embrace destruction. But, as in 1754 and in January 1766, this expression of despondency and haughty self-depreciation was but a prelude to vigour. In April 1774 he came up from Somersetshire to Hayes: there he had a bad attack of gout—so bad that Lady Chatham dared not tell him of the threatening language used by some ministers about America, 'which she knows he could not hear without feeling more upon it . . . than is consistent with his present worn state.'[2] Not till the end of May, when the Boston Port and Massachusetts Charter bills had been passed, was he fit to attend the House of Lords, and even then it was noticed[3] that his voice was feeble and his bearing that of an invalid. So anxious were the ministers to hear his opinion that, to suit his convenience, they had postponed for nine days the third reading of the bill for quartering troops on Boston.

Chatham was in conciliatory mood. He had just heard

[1] *Add. MSS.* 35192, f. 11. For other passages see *Chatham Correspondence.*
[2] *Lansdowne House MSS.* P. 27 (April 23, 1774).
[3] By Walpole and the French envoy.

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that some Boston merchants had offered to pay damages to the East India Company if the Port Bill were given up, and wished some such expedient might be accepted.[1] In the hope of reconciling all parties to a national policy he had seen Temple and persuaded him to make some concession on the right of taxation that he claimed, and in his speech he paid some compliments to ministers. Walpole insinuates that he had an eye to the Closet and was anxious to pave the way to office; and there is nothing improbable in the suggestion.[2] He certainly believed that no one was so likely to avert a terrible struggle as himself, and may have taken the ministers' anxiety to hear his views as an invitation to help them. At any rate he went some way to meet them in declaring that if the Bostonians were given a chance of making reparation and refused, they should be punished for their turbulence, and 'made to feel what it is to provoke a fond and forgiving parent.' But, in spite of this admission, the general tone of the speech can have been little to the liking of the stiff-necked King. He strove to bring home to the ignorant audience he was addressing that the colonists were not mere uncivilised barbarians. He prophesied the future greatness of America in arms and arts.

May 26, 1774.

> Already [said he] the principal towns in America are learned and polite and understand the constitution of the empire as well as the noble lords who are now in office . . . there is no corner of the world into which men of their free and enterprising spirit would not fly with alacrity rather than submit to the slavish and tyrannical principles which prevail here now.[3]

[1] *Chatham MSS.* 68 (Mrs. Wright to Chatham, May 1774).

[2] Horace Walpole, followed in this respect by some modern writers, seems to imagine that it was a disgrace to Chatham ever 'to have an eye on the Closet,' i.e. to wish for office. This is an absurd view, due no doubt to the many instances in the eighteenth century of men eager merely for the honours and emoluments of office. But when a man like Chatham had something to do, and could only do it in office, it was only right and proper for him to seek office.

[3] The idea in this passage and of others in Chatham's speeches is curiously like that of a note appended to some trade statistics of 1745 to be found in *Chatham MSS.* 74. The note does not appear to have been written by Pitt, but entirely accords with views he always held. It runs as follows: 'N.B.—New England made no figure till 1661, when the violent measures about the

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He repeated that 'This country has no right under Heaven to tax America,' and warned the peers that the only way of dealing with such men was to 'proceed like a kind and affectionate parent over a child whom he tenderly loves; and, instead of these harsh and severe proceedings, pass an amnesty on all their youthful errors.' He concluded with an intimation that if he were called upon he would not prove obdurate:

> The period is not far distant when England, whose welfare has ever been my greatest and most pleasing consolation, will want the assistance of her most distant friends; but should the all-disposing hand of Providence prevent me from affording her my poor assistance, my prayers shall be ever for her welfare. Length of days be in her right hand, and in her left riches and honour. May her ways be ways of pleasantness, and all her paths be peace.

But Chatham's pleading for moderation had no effect, and when the Quebec bill was brought up in June he was more unmeasured in his denunciation of the Government's policy. This bill for the first time established a settled system of government for the new province of Quebec, and at any other time would have attracted little attention. But in the excited state of feeling in America its provisions were regarded as a menace to religion and liberty throughout the continent. The proposed form of government with a military governor, assisted for legislative purposes by a small council nominated by the Crown, taken in conjunction with the withdrawal of the charter from Massachusetts, thoroughly alarmed the colonists, who saw in it the first step towards abolishing all popular government in America. The establishment of the French civil law without a jury system was in itself reasonable for a country containing barely 2,000 Englishmen to 60,000 French Canadians; but when the

> Act of Uniformity . . . drove numbers to America, from thenceforth the progress is to be dated, and the like cannot be paralleled in the history of any state, from hence may be seen what accession of strength and wealth to this nation of old England is already derived through the Colonies and what farther increase of both will flow from the same source, if the growth of the colonies be not discouraged and checked by severities and their hearts alienated by diminution of liberty.[1]

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Americans saw their own State criminals being removed from the jurisdiction of American juries to England, they not unnaturally believed that the aim of the English Government was to strike a fatal blow at their own jury system. The mere toleration of the Roman Catholic religion according to the terms of capitulation in 1761 would not have been objected to, but when the priests were also allowed to exact tithes this was suspected to be a sop to the Canadian papists to induce them to fight against the liberty-loving colonists. Lastly, the boundaries of Quebec were enlarged so as to take in the five Great Lakes and all the fruitful country between them and the rivers Ohio and Mississippi; and the Americans were made to feel that their chances of expansion were no better with Canada under the English Crown than when the French were its masters.[1] In the condition of the province at that time the first three provisions were not unreasonable and proved unobjectionable in practice; the fourth was frankly aimed by the King and his ministers against expansion by the insubordinate colonists. Chatham entirely sympathized with the fears of the Americans, and in the House of Lords denounced all four provisions with the fervour of a convinced Protestant and a Whig of the Revolution. He attacked the extension of Canadian boundaries, which his own Secretary of State, Shelburne, had refused to consider, the establishment of despotic government, the abolition of trial by jury, which seemed to him to indicate 'that the framers of the bill thought that mode of proceeding, together with the Habeas Corpus Act, mere moonshine,' and above all the endowment of the Roman Catholic religion—a breach, he said, of the Reformation, the Revolution, and the King's coronation oath. To his usual tolerance he always made an exception of Roman Catholicism, and in this speech launched out against 'those scandalous tools, the Bishops,' for granting greater favours to papists

June 17, 1774.

[1] A good statement of the American objections to the Quebec bill is given by Baron Maseres (Cobbett's friend) in his *Additional Papers Concerning Quebec* (1776), pp. 469–78. See also Burke, *Correspondence*, i, 509 (General Lee to Burke). The other side was well put in Meredith's pamphlet, *A Letter to the Earl of Chatham on the Quebec Bill* (1774). The text of the Quebec Act and a discussion of its points are in Kingsford, v, 326 *sqq.*

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than those which they denied to the Protestant dissenters in England. 'Popery,' he declaimed, 'is established, the Protestant Church devoted, and the veil of its temple rent asunder: as well pull down all Protestant steeples! . . . The mask has at length been thrown off and ministers have opened their plan of despotism.' Chatham had popular opinion on his side when he delivered this tirade, and for that reason, perhaps, some of the bishops were made more uneasy by it than by his nobler plea for toleration in 1772. Several left without voting, on the plea of company to dinner; nevertheless Chatham found only six lords to vote with him against the bill.[1]

These defeats did not dismay Chatham. Through the autumn and winter he worked away at America as in the days when Joe Wright shut him up with Temple 'for three or four hours together among all the treaties of the world.'[2] He told Franklin that the errors of ministers had often been due to their not obtaining the best information from America, and he was resolved not to make that mistake himself. He paid no attention to the soft assurances of governors and officials, but obtained the confidences of men who knew the daily lives and thoughts of the provincials. Among these were Samuel Wharton, who had first-hand news of the congress in Philadelphia; John Temple, who had returned from the Massachusetts Board of Revenue with accounts of Governor Hutchinson's ill-advised actions; Mr. Sheriff Sayre, who sent Chatham letters from New York and Maryland; and a certain Mrs. Mehetabel Wright, a niece of John Wesley, born in Philadelphia, who used her great gifts as a modeller in wax to obtain introductions to the King and the principal people in the political world, and thereby discovered many secrets useful to her countrymen and represented their case in a favourable light.[3]

[1] Sir Wm. Meredith, in his pamphlet *A Letter to the Earl of Chatham on the Quebec Bill* quotes some of his speech, and is confirmed by Walpole's account.

[2] Vol. i, p. 272.

[3] She is said to have often visited the King and Queen, whom she amused by her conversation. Her chief title to fame is that she modelled the remarkable likeness in wax of Lord Chatham, which is preserved in Westminster Abbey. Several of her letters giving information from America to Chatham are in *Chatham MSS.* 68. See also Hutchinson, *Memoirs*, ii, 366.

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Another correspondent, Thomas Crowley, a Quaker merchant who had travelled in America, under the pseudonym of *Amor Patriae* tried to convert Chatham and the world to one imperial parliament with representatives from Ireland and all the colonies. This scheme, of which two slightly different versions are among Chatham's papers, was not inconsistent with his demand for a better parliamentary system and would once have been acceptable to him as a means of reconciling his own and Grenville's views of taxation. But the Whigs would not hear of such a revolutionary change, and the fatal objection to it was that it would no longer have satisfied the colonists.[1]

This he learned from Benjamin Franklin, who had himself once favoured some such scheme. Franklin was then bitter and rebellious at the treatment he had received from Wedderburn, who early in 1774 had publicly branded him as a traitor and a thief before the Privy Council. A summons in August from the greatest living Englishman to take counsel at Hayes came like balm to his wounded spirit. In this first interview [2] Chatham listened attentively to Franklin's defence of the Americans and expressed a hope that they would maintain their rights by all peaceable and legal means: his only anxiety seemed to be about rumours of their desire to have the navigation acts repealed and to become independent; but Franklin reassured him. At the end of the year Franklin again waited on Chatham at Hayes with copies of the declaration to the British people and the petition to the King drawn up by the Congress of Philadelphia. Congress addressed the King as 'the loving father of his whole people,' and told him that 'so far from promoting innovations we have only opposed them . . . Your royal authority over us and our connection with Great Britain we shall always support and maintain.'

[1] Two versions of Crowley's scheme are in *Chatham MSS.* 82 and 97, and one of them is set out in the *English Historical Review* for October 1907. See also Crowley's *Letters and Dissertations* (1776) and *Dissertations on the Grand Dispute, &c.* (1774). Mr. L. B. Naymier of Balliol has supplied valuable hints on Crowley's and similar schemes.

[2] In his first Ministry Pitt had not had personal intercourse with Franklin (see above, p. 83).

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To the people of England they appealed for justice: 'you have been told that we are impatient of government and desirous of independency. These are calumnies. Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory and our greatest happiness.' To Chatham the petition seemed 'decent, manly, and properly expressed'; he called Congress 'the most honourable assembly of statesmen since those of the Greeks and Romans in their most virtuous times'; and he took note of Franklin's warning that the Americans would never come to terms 'while the bayonet is at their breast.'

At this crisis in English history, when the fate of America was trembling in the balance, it was a grievous calamity that all those who were for tender dealing with the colonists could not sink their differences and fight as one man. In all essentials Burke was in full agreement with Chatham, and was never more eloquent, never more unselfish, than in his devotion to this cause. His energy was indefatigable. Like Chatham he corresponded with Americans and was the friend of Franklin; he stirred up the merchants to petition against the King's policy, tried to put limits to the Cavendishes' fox-hunting, and by his noble speeches sought to awaken Parliament and the nation to the danger. But Burke and his leader Rockingham had their suspicions and Chatham had his. The Whigs suspected Chatham's 'reserves' and accused him of having an eye to the Closet, 'the least peep into which intoxicates him and will to the end of his life.'[1] On his side Chatham kept harping on his objections to the Rockinghams' Declaratory Act. When he went to see Rockingham on the eve of the session he could talk of little else;[2] and yet he must have known that in itself this had become an academic question on which Congress had laid no stress in their petition. Chatham was also with more justice afraid that Burke was not sound on the navigation acts.[3] But all these matters, on both sides, were trivialities compared with the all-important need, on

[1] Burke, *Correspondence*, i, 506. [2] Rockingham, *Memoirs*, ii, 261.
[3] In August 1774 Chatham had expressed this fear to Franklin (Franklin, *Works*, v, 445).

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which both were agreed, of taking the bayonet from the throat of the Americans. Chatham himself could hardly have put his policy better than in Burke's simple words: 'My proposition is peace.'

Yet neither side could overcome this foolish pride and suspicion, more deplorable and culpable on Chatham's part since he was a greater man than any of the Whigs. He did not even inform anybody beforehand of the motion he intended to make on his reappearance in the House of Lords on January 20, 1775, and thus lost the votes of some who might have supported him. He wrote and told Shelburne that he intended 'to knock at the door of a sleeping and confounded Ministry'[1] and may perhaps have thought that a complete surprise would awaken with more certainty. The Ministry appear to have been thoroughly cowed at the prospect of his speech, and industriously spread the report that he would not attend. This gave him the more courage and he bade his wife,

> Be of good cheer, noble love.
> Yes, I am proud, I must be proud to see
> Men not afraid of God afraid of me.

January 20, 1775. He came accompanied by his sixteen-year-old son William to watch over his faltering steps, and by Franklin, saying aloud so that all should hear him, 'This is Dr. Franklin, whom I would have admitted into the House'—noble amends for Wedderburn's 'wily American, whose coolness and apathy surpassed the revengeful temper attributed to the bloody African.' A kind of bustle, Franklin noted, was apparent among the officers of the House when Chatham was seen, as if members were being hastily summoned, for his presence always presaged some affair of importance. The old war minister, who had ever been the most uncompromising advocate of strong measures against England's enemies, soon unfolded the subject of his mysterious motion: 'that in order to open a way towards a happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America, by beginning to allay ferments and soften animosities there . . . immediate orders be dispatched . . . for removing

[1] Chatham, having tried this phrase in his letter of January 19, 1775, used it in his speech of the next day. For another instance of a similar practice see above, p. 278.

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his Majesty's forces from the town of Boston.' When the motion had been read out, the knocks on the door of the sleeping ministry followed fast:

An hour now lost may produce years of calamity—I contend not for indulgence but justice to America. Resistance to your acts was necessary as it was just. The Americans are a brave, generous, and united people, with arms in their hands and courage in their hearts: three millions of them, the genuine descendants of a valiant and pious ancestry, driven to those deserts by the narrow maxims of a superstitious tyranny. Of the spirit of independence animating the *nation* of America, I have the most authentic information. Destroy their towns and cut them off from the superfluities, perhaps the conveniences of life . . . and they would not lament their loss whilst they have—what, my Lords?—their woods and their liberty. To such united force, what force shall be opposed? A few regiments in America and 17,000 or 18,000 men at home? The idea is too ridiculous to take up a moment of your Lordships' time. Laying of papers on your table or counting numbers on a division will not avert or postpone the hour of danger. It is not repealing this act of Parliament, it is not repealing a piece of parchment, that can restore America to our bosom: you must repeal her fears and her resentments; and you may then hope for her love and gratitude. I have read Thucydides and have studied and admired the master-states of the world, it has been my favourite study, but I must declare and avow that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion . . . no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the general congress of Philadelphia. With a dignity becoming your exalted situation make the first advances to concord, to peace and happiness; follow the advice given by Virgil, a wise poet and a wise man in political sagacity, to the first Cæsar, to the master of the world: 'Tuque prior, tu parce: projice tela manu.' . . . And my Lords, I would have you remember that France, like a vulture, is hovering over the British Empire, hungrily watching the prey that she is only waiting for the right moment to pounce upon. . . . To conclude, my Lords, if the ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the King I will not say that they *can* alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown; but I will affirm that they will make the crown not worth his wearing. I will not say that the King is betrayed; but I will pronounce that the kingdom is undone.[1]

[1] This is the first of the two speeches admirably reported by Hugh Boyd. As an example of Chatham's oratory the whole speech should be studied. The passage about France is taken from the French agent's report. (*Aff. Etr. Angl. Corr. Pol.* 508, f. 92.)

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These burning words made no impression on the peers or their master the King. A majority of the Lords could always be counted upon to approve of punishment for the 'rebels,' and a sudden election in the previous year had increased the already large majority for a violent policy in the Commons. Chatham and the few friends who supported him in the debate —Richmond, Camden, Rockingham and Shelburne—suffered the usual fate of those who support an unpopular cause in times of excitement, being called traitors and fomenters of rebellion. Chatham was also sneeringly told that it was easy to talk of conciliation, and leave the plan of conciliation to others: so he resolved to produce his own plan. After consultation with Camden and Franklin he spent a quiet week at Hayes putting his ideas into shape. On January 29 he drove to London, and by the evening all the world knew that for two hours the earl's chariot and liveried servants had been seen waiting outside Benjamin Franklin's modest lodging in Craven Street, Strand. Should the bill be introduced at once was one of the questions Chatham had come to ask Franklin, but, in his impetuous way, decided it for himself. The chief consideration for immediate action was his own precarious health, which might without a moment's warning incapacitate him: the critical state of America also made haste imperative, for it would be useless to talk of conciliation when Boston had once run with blood. Next day he put the finishing touches to the bill, and on the 31st had Franklin to Hayes for four hours to hear his criticisms. Franklin relates that he was not given much chance of talking, for Chatham was not easily interrupted and dealt so exhaustively with the few criticisms Franklin ventured to make that no time was left to go through most of the bill. This mattered the less, since Franklin agreed in principle with Chatham and knew that if the bill passed its second reading it was bound to be amended in detail. Still fresh after his four hours with Franklin, Chatham also found time to write to Rockingham, Shelburne, Stanhope, Temple and Richmond, urging them to attend the Lords on the morrow, when he was to move for leave to introduce his bill.

Not a moment can be lost [he wrote], for whoever has anything

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to offer to the public, for preventing a civil war before it is inevitably fixed. I mean, therefore, to obey the necessity and propose to-morrow . . . my thoughts on this weighty business. . . . I say with the simplicity of a poor American, God's will be done! and let the old and new world be my judge.

During the months of February and March 1775 three separate proposals for conciliation with America were brought before Parliament. Lord North's, agreed to by the House of Commons on February 27, offered to remit taxation imposed by Parliament in the case of any colony that contributed to the common defence a sum approved by the King and both Houses of Parliament. Such a proposal, accompanied as it was by the dispatch of reinforcements and generals to America, was never for a moment regarded as a concession by the colonists, but simply as an attempt to sow disunion among the provinces. On March 22 Burke, in his magnificent speech on conciliation with America, proposed thirteen resolutions, the general effect of which was to repeal the recent acts punishing the Bostonians for their insubordination, and all acts imposing a duty on the colonists, to revert to the old system whereby the provincial assemblies voted all internal taxes for the aid of the Crown on the requisition of a secretary of State, and to establish the judges on an independent footing. In spite of the noble sympathy it displayed with the colonies this speech illustrates Burke's essential weakness—an inability to rise beyond an established order of things or to see that a revolution such as had occurred in America required something more drastic than a mere return to the old order.

The third was the 'Provisional Bill' which Chatham introduced on February 1, 1775. This reads more like a speech than a cold proposal for the Statute Book;[1] and the wording of the clauses hardly yields in warmth of sympathy to Burke's spoken oration. Chatham was ever prone to appeal to the imagination no less than to the understanding, and in this instance, when he knew that the bill itself had hardly a chance of passing, he was anxious to leave on

[1] According to Hutchinson many of the peers grumbled that it was more like a newspaper or a declamatory speech than a declaratory bill.

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record, in words 'captivating the people' of England and America, the principles on which he believed a settlement could be arranged. In Chatham's view his bill was to be something more than a means of surmounting the present difficulties, but almost a declaration of the rights of man, or at least a new Magna Charta establishing the permanent relations between England and her colonies. At the outset he asserted Parliament's right

> to bind the British colonies in America in all matters touching the general weal of the whole dominion of the imperial crown of Great Britain . . . and most especially an indubitable and indispensable right to make and ordain laws for regulating navigation and trade throughout the complicated system of British commerce, the deep policy of such prudent acts upholding the guardian navy of the whole British people.[1]

Answering explicitly the only clause in the petition of Congress to which he took exception, he reasserted the royal prerogative of ordering troops to any part of the royal dominions in peace as well as in war, but added the important proviso: 'No military force . . . can ever be lawfully employed to violate and destroy the just rights of the people.' Then for the corresponding rights of the colonies. 'No tallage, tax, or other charge for His Majesty's revenue, shall be commanded or levied from British freemen in America without common consent, by act of provincial assembly there, duly convened for that purpose,' ran the first clause defining the colonies' privileges. Trial by jury was to be restored in all civil cases, judges were to hold office, no longer *durante bene placito*, but *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, 'for the better securing due and impartial administration of justice in the colonies.' In these

[1] The turn of this passage gave Chatham much thought. There are many rejected variants of it in his rough notes for the bill. One of them spoke of the right of the 'Grand Council of the Realm (upholding its guardian navy for the protection of the whole British empire by the deep policy of prudent acts of navigation and trade) to make and ordain laws for regulating the same through the extensive and complicated system of British commerce' (*Chatham MSS.* 74). It is another illustration of the difference between Burke and Chatham on America that in the speech of March 22 those trade laws regarded by Chatham as of fundamental importance are dismissed almost contemptuously by Burke.

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provisions Chatham was simply asserting what had already, in his view, been the law in America or, in the case of the judges, was so in England.

The novel and distinguishing feature of the bill was his recognition of Congress. George III spoke of Congress as an illegal and seditious assemblage, Burke feared it as a rival to England's 'nearly perfect' system of representation: Chatham's genius for government saw in it the means of forging a new and most powerful link between the mother-country and her colonies. It was, therefore, not merely acknowledged but given most important functions. First, Congress, on behalf of the American people, was solemnly to recognise the supremacy of Parliament; and on this solemn recognition Chatham made the repeal of all the recent obnoxious fiscal and penal laws conditional. Through Congress also Chatham hoped to find the solution of the vexed question of colonial contribution to imperial expenses. On the requisition of Parliament, Congress was 'to take into consideration . . . the making a free grant to the King . . . of a certain perpetual revenue, subject to the disposition of the British Parliament, to be by them appropriated . . . to the alleviation of the national debt: . . . not as a condition of redress but as a just testimony of affection,' and still further to emphasize the function of Congress as a link between Parliament and the colonies, it was to be the duty of Congress to allocate the quota to be paid by each province. And so the object of the bill is summed up in these concluding words of comfort:

> So shall true reconcilement avert impending calamities, and this most solemn national accord between Great Britain and her colonies stand an everlasting monument of clemency and magnanimity in the benignant father of his people; of wisdom and moderation in this great nation, famed for humanity as for valour; and of fidelity and grateful affection from brave and loyal colonies to their parent kingdom, which will ever protect and cherish them.

Chatham in a brief speech begged the House to consider 'without factious spleen or blind predilection . . . the crude materials he presumed to lay before them.' Camden, Richmond and Shelburne alone supported him unreservedly. Dartmouth, February 1, 1775.

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Temple and Lyttelton opposed the bill but desired that it should be read; Grafton was offended at his 'hurry.' Gower taunted him with his age [1] and said he had once declared that an ensign and a couple of regiments could reduce the Americans to obedience. Sandwich moved that the bill should be rejected with the contempt it deserved, and, turning towards Franklin, who was standing at the bar, said he could never believe that it was the production of a British peer: 'It is evidently the work of some American,' he continued, 'and I fancy that I have in my eye the person who drew it up, one of the bitterest and most mischievous enemies this country has ever known!'

The bill is entirely my own [answered Chatham]. If it is so weak and so bad a thing it behoves me to see that no other person unjustly shares in the censure it deserves. . . . But I do not scruple to affirm that if I were first minister . . . I should not be ashamed of calling to my assistance a person so perfectly acquainted with the whole of American affairs as the gentleman alluded to and so injuriously reflected upon; one, I am pleased to say, whom all Europe holds in high estimation for his knowledge and wisdom, and ranks with our Boyles and Newtons; one who is an honour not to the English nation only, but to human nature!

Turning to Gower he said he could never have uttered anything so foolish about America: 'Why, in the late war 40,000 men and one of our ablest generals spent five years in reducing French America, a bare third of our present possessions.' Then turning on the whole ministerial pack he gave vent to his contempt of them and despair for England:

This bill, though rejected here, will make its way to the public, to the nation, to the remotest wilds of America . . . and whatever its merits or demerits may be, it will rise or fall by them alone; it will, I trust, remain a monument of my poor endeavours to serve my country. . . . Yet, when I consider the whole case as it lies before me, I am not much astonished, I am not surprised, that men who hate liberty should detest those who prize it; or that those who

[1] On this the French envoy comments: 'Gower would do better to attack Chatham on any other point but his age, which deserves respect rather than sarcasm. But such delicacies are not found in a country where already there is no virtue and not yet enough politeness.' (*Aff. Etr. Angl. Corr. Pol.* 508, f. 171.)

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want virtue themselves should endeavour to persecute those who possess it. . . . The whole of your political conduct has been one continued series of weakness, temerity, despotism, ignorance, futility, negligence, and the most notorious servility, incapacity, and corruption. On reconsideration I must allow you one merit, a strict attention to your own interests: in that view you appear sound statesmen and politicians. You well know, if the present measure should prevail, that you must instantly relinquish your places. . . . Such then being your precarious situations, who should wonder that you can put a negative on any measure which must annihilate your power, deprive you of your emoluments, and at once reduce you to that state of insignificance for which God and nature designed you.

Chatham's bill might have carried more weight had he been more careful to prepare men's minds for it. Friend and foe were alike in complete ignorance of what his proposal might be; only a few peers even knew of his intention to make a motion that day; his strong supporter, the Duke of Manchester, heard of the bill for the first time when Chatham rose to move that it be read. The Ministry also were taken by surprise and had hurriedly to beat up supporters from the play and the royal box; so great indeed was the demand for lords-in waiting that no one was left to hand the Queen out of her box.[1] Chatham was too prone to trust to his own powers of persuasion and despise all outside help. This haughty reserve had always hurt him, especially in his last Ministry; now, when he rarely appeared in public and could not animate his countrymen by his presence, it was fatal. The bill was indeed a forlorn hope in any case. The King would never have listened to it, and until the news of the first defeats he carried the country with him in a desire for vengeance on America. Among the colonists it was received with mixed feelings. It certainly complied with all the demands of Congress save one: Jefferson approved of it, and Franklin thought it afforded 'a foundation of a lasting good agreement.'[2] But the extreme party in America was daily gaining strength under the leader-

[1] St. Paul of Ewart, ii, 34.

[2] It even went further to satisfy the Americans than a plan pronounced in the previous December by Franklin to be satisfactory. (*Works*, v, 452.)

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ship of Samuel Adams, who frankly rejected the supremacy of Parliament; and, according to reports sent to Lord Suffolk, the bill was scouted as ridiculously inadequate in New York.[1]

But though the bill by itself would certainly not have averted war at that stage, the bill, with Chatham in office to carry out its provisions, might have done so and have saved America for England. Chatham's lifelong sympathy with the colonists and their trust in him would have made them listen to him when they were deaf to every other Englishman. During the war Governor Bernard of Massachusetts told Barrington that Amherst had asked him to make a requisition on his assembly, 'but I must have a letter from Mr. Pitt,' he added, 'before they will mind me';[2] and the same spirit still reigned in America. The very fear expressed by the Americans aiming at independence—that Chatham's bill might be successful in retaining British supremacy—shows how nicely calculated was his scheme.[3] Still more significant is the hint in the declaration by Congress of July 6, 1775, 'of the Causes and Necessity of taking up arms,' that, had Chatham been in power, there would have been no such necessity. That minister, the declaration says, 'who so wisely and successfully directed the measures of Great Britain in the late war, publicly declared that these colonies enabled her to triumph over all her enemies. . . . Towards the conclusion of that war it pleased our Sovereign to make a change in his counsels. From that fatal moment the affairs of the British Empire began to fall into confusion, and gradually sliding from the summit of glorious prosperity to which they had been advanced by the virtues and ability of one man, are at length distracted by the convulsions, that now shake it to its deepest foundations.'

To this sympathy with America Chatham united an understanding of his own people at home. In his proposed concessions to the colonists he was careful to save the pride of England by his clear enunciation of English supremacy and his

[1] *Historical MSS. Commission*, IX, iii, 81. See also *American Archives*, IV, i, 1506.

[2] *Barrington–Bernard Correspondence*, 10.

[3] 'We fear Lord Chatham; he is for having the supremacy acknowledged.' (*Historical MSS. Commission*, XIV, x, 316; May 25, 1775.)

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masterly use of Congress as a connecting link between Parliament and the colonial assemblies. He might not have finally settled the questions at issue between England and her colonies, but he would have gained a breathing space and encouraged a better feeling, which would have made mutual concession easier. The French, at any rate, saw it in that light. Vergennes prays that Chatham may not displace the present ministers, whose folly was so useful to his country, and his agent replies that Chatham's name would certainly quiet the colonies and find an outlet for intestine quarrels in a united attack on France.[1] The time called for a man with the power of fascinating and dominating multitudes to bring about an almost desperate reconciliation: Chatham, 'the most efficient servant of the Crown, and, while he had life in him, the nerve of Great Britain,'[2] alone had that power. But before these words were said of him by Shelburne, Chatham, exhausted by the last months of apparently futile energy, had sunk back nerveless and with his mind darkened into the old helpless lethargy.

[1] Doniol, i, 68–9.

[2] Fitzmaurice, *Shelburne*, i, 485.

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CHAPTER XXV

THE LAST STAGE

> Sage he stood
> With Atlantean shoulders, fit to bear
> The weight of mightiest monarchies; his look
> Drew audience and attention still as night.
>
> MILTON, *Paradise Lost*, ii, 305.

Two years had passed, years fateful for the English dominions and for English liberty. Lexington, Bunker Hill, Trenton had been fought, an English army had been expelled from Boston; Montreal and Ticonderoga, won so dearly from the French, had been easily captured by rebels. Congress had declared its independence and had sent envoys to treat with France. Lafayette had sailed from France to help the insurgents, Burgoyne from England to supersede Carleton, the most capable English general in America. Lord George Germain, the Sackville of Minden, was conducting our American policy; George III was garrisoning Gibraltar with Hanoverians, and hiring men, as if they were cattle, from the princes of Hesse, Brunswick, Hanau, Waldeck, Anspach, Anhalt, to shoot down men of English race [1] and make the name of England a byword on the Continent; [2] Sandwich was reducing the navy almost to vanishing point; and poor Barrington, who disapproved of everything, yet remained in office, moaned impotently at

[1] See their cost (about 700,000 crowns besides pay) and numbers (about 21,000 men) detailed in *Chatham MSS.* 89.

[2] Frederic II said he would charge a cattle tax on all these mercenaries moving through his dominions. 'Sister Kitty' of Russia refused to sell her subjects, 'not in so genteel a manner' as appeared proper to George III's 'civilised ear.'

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the reduction of the army at home to under 15,000, when invasion was feared and insurrection rife.[1] At first England seemed hardly conscious of the dangerous pass to which the King's policy was bringing her. As in other wars, the English began by despising their adversary, and could not believe that an army which had humbled the Bourbon power to the dust would find any difficulty in suppressing a few riots among rebels, whom they talked of as poltroons. During the early part of 1776 all interest centred in the great trial by the peers of Chatham's Tunbridge Wells acquaintance, Elizabeth Chudleigh, Duchess of Kingston, for bigamy. The sight, wrote Harriot Pitt when she begged to be allowed to go to the trial, in which there was to be 'nothing improper,' was to be 'finer than a coronation.' Again she wrote when it was over, 'it so engaged the attention of everybody that everything else seemed totally forgot. The name of America was not, I believe, heard during the time it lasted.'[2] Even in the government departments concerned with America, says Hutchinson, there were no plans, and the clerks were generally to be found lounging as if nothing important was toward.

But, although the Ministry habitually delayed announcing defeats,[3] by 1777 the evidence of facts could not be gainsaid. In the end, too, the American calamities served England a good turn by at last opening the eyes of the people to the evils of the arbitrary government, under which they had allowed themselves to sink. Even a corrupt House of Commons summoned up courage to use 'strange language' about the extravagant payments from the Civil List whereby this tyranny was upheld. To the regular Whig Opposition this awakening was little due, for in November 1776, after the rejection of Lord John Cavendish's motion to repeal the penal laws against

[1] *The Political Life of Viscount Barrington*, p. 153.

[2] Harriot Pitt, who was just eighteen at the time of the trial, tells her mother that when asked to go to it she gave an indecisive answer: 'I imagined the trial might not be very fit for one to hear; but they told me there would be nothing improper in it [only whether the Duchess had one or two husbands].' She asks for an early answer, as 'parties are made early.' She was allowed to go, and felt very sad for the 'poor unduchessed lady.' (From a private collection of Harriot Pitt's letters.)

[3] *Aff. Etr. Angl. Corr. Pol.* 526, f. 215.

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America, they seceded from Parliament for a year. But Charles James Fox, the new star of the party, blazing with no less brilliance, but with a steadier light than Charles Townshend, refused to leave his duty and continued to vex the King and stir the people with 'noisy declamations.' In one of these speeches this son of Chatham's old rival, the man who in after years carried on his traditions better than Chatham's own son, called a truce to the family feud; 'if,' said Fox, 'I should happen to differ in my sentiments from that venerable character whom I honour and revere, the committee will give me credit that no early prejudice, no childish pique directs my judgment or influences my mind.' In another he paid a glowing tribute to Chatham's 'great and surprising talents as a minister,' comparing him to Frederic and Alexander the Great. During these two years the only sign of life given by Chatham himself to a world that had almost forgotten him, was a message delivered to Addington in a lucid moment, when he thought his end was drawing near. This message, dated July 1776, stated that the old statesman 'continued in the same sentiments in regard to America which he had always professed and which stand so fully explained in his Provisional Act'; and added 'that unless effectual measures were speedily taken for reconciliation with the colonies he was fully persuaded that in a very few years France will set her foot on English ground.'

On May 30, 1777, a week before the end of the session, Chatham was enough recovered to 'crawl to the House of Lords,' attended by William, the hope and comfort of his life. The reports that France was on the eve of signing a treaty with the States brought him, 'perhaps at the last flying moment,' as he said, to plead for his own policy of conciliation, before the gathering storm had broken. On the news that he had reappeared members of the House of Commons came hurrying up to see him, and so crowded the gangways that the peers had difficulty in reaching their seats. It was felt that all was not well with England and that the man who had never failed in danger might give counsel fit to hear. This feeling was expressed by Grafton in a lyrical outburst: 'A dawn of joy,' he said after hearing Chatham speak, 'breaks

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in upon my mind in finding that the spirit which was formerly wont to pervade every part of the kingdom and has long slept has now revived and shows that it is not entirely extinct . . . may he act once more the part of the saviour of his country.' Chatham's voice had little of the old fire left; even the partial William, who hung on his father's every word, admitted that he was often difficult to hear, especially in the first of his two speeches. But, if the voice was feeble, the policy he came to urge was bold, bolder even than when his sentence, delivered to a trembling council, was for open war with Spain. For he came to ask the country to admit that it had been mistaken, and, in the words of his motion ' . . . to take the most speedy and effectual measure for putting a stop to such fatal hostilities upon the only just and solid foundation, namely the removal of accumulated grievances.' He admitted the difficulty for government, May 30, 1777.

after all that has passed, to shake hands with defiers of the King, defiers of the Parliament, defiers of the people . . . But if an end is not put to this war there is an end to this country. . . . America, which has carried you through four wars, will now carry you to your death, if you don't take things in time . . . before France has become a party to the treaty. . . . In the sportsman's phrase, when you have found yourselves at fault, you must try back. . . . You may ravage—you cannot conquer; it is impossible: you cannot conquer the Americans. You talk . . . of your powerful forces, to disperse their army: I might as well talk of driving them before me with this crutch! . . . If you conquer them, what then? You cannot make them respect you, you cannot make them wear your cloth . . . coming from the stock they do they can never respect you. . . . You have said 'Lay down your arms,' and America has given you the Spartan answer: 'Come take.' . . . We are the aggressors. We have invaded them as much as the Spanish Armada invaded England. Mercy cannot do harm; it will seat the King where he ought to be, throned in the hearts of his people; and millions at home and abroad, now employed in obloquy or revolt, would pray for him.

Chatham's motion was rejected by a large majority, and was described by the King next day as 'highly unseasonable; . . . like most of the other productions of that extraordinary

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brain, it contains nothing but specious words and malevolence.'[1] By this time it was almost a single-handed duel between Chatham and George III. Lord North and most of the Cabinet were weakening on the futile war and needed all the King's unyielding obstinacy to hold them to their task. Chatham now seemed to keep alive only to save England and America. The day after his speech he was asked what sort of night he had after his exertions: 'As bad as any man in England,' he replied cheerfully, 'except the Archbishop of York,'[2] who had been roughly handled in the House for some savage expressions in a sermon against the American 'rebels.' In June, when riding in his grounds, he fell off his horse in a fit; but he was resolved to live, and by the opening of the session in November appeared better than he had ever been. Before Christmas he made four of his greatest speeches. War with France and with Spain also was now almost certain, and by the end of the year came news of that shattering blow to the English cause in America, Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga. Two things Chatham pleaded for, as he had never pleaded before: peace with America and adequate preparations against the hated Bourbons. On the Address he again moved for peace: he supported a motion for returns of the home defence forces; he moved for the instructions to Burgoyne as a weapon wherewith to convict the Ministry of criminal incompetence; and he opposed the adjournment over the Christmas holidays: 'at so tremendous a season it does not become your Lordships, the great hereditary council of the nation, to neglect your duty; to retire to your country seats for six

November 20; December 2, 5, 11, 1777.

[1] In this debate Shelburne denied and Mansfield upheld the authenticity of the Montcalm letters, prophesying the revolt of the American colonies, which had recently been published by Almon. They were probably forgeries by the Jesuit spy Roubaud, who says in his *Petition for the Consideration of Parliament*, 'The second copy of those Montcalm letters was given to Mr. George Grenville and afterwards communicated to the Earl of Chatham, who intimately knew the author of those letters (an Englishman !).' If this is true, Chatham may have told Shelburne that the letters were spurious. See Carlyle, *Frederick the Great*, viii, 218; Beer, *British Colonial Policy*, 172, *note*; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 2nd series, iii, 202–4; *Canadian Archives*, 1885, Report p. cxxxviii.

[2] Quoted in *A Letter to the Earl of Chatham . . . on the memorable 30th May* (1777).

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weeks in quest of joy and merriment, while the real state of public affairs calls for grief, mourning, and lamentation, at least for the fullest exertions of your wisdom.' Once more he made advances to the Rockingham Whigs and found them ready to return to their duty in Parliament and follow his leadership. All his old friends flocked back to his standard. Men like Lord Coventry, who were habitually absent from Parliament, 'merely attended the House for the sake of meeting him . . . thinking him the only person who could save us.'[1]

In the four speeches of this session Chatham brought forth the wisdom, the accumulated studies and the experience of a lifetime spent in the service of the country. Like almost every great creation, these speeches were made primarily to serve an immediate object, and as examples of impassioned pleading for a particular cause are almost unsurpassed. They are full, too, of Chatham's violent prejudices, such as his hatred of the French, his exaggerated distrust of party, and his old suspicion of Lord Bute, prejudices which give the savour of his vigorous nature. But, were these speeches nothing more, they would not have lived. In their immediate object they failed completely. Peace was not made with America till all that he contended for had been lost: a dismal war was waged against Spain and France without adequate preparation and with the whole of Europe and half America wishing us ill. The greatness of these speeches lies partly in the entrancing beauty and the stern dignity of their language: by that time the turgid quality which had sometimes disfigured his speeches had come to its autumn of decay; the grandeur and simplicity alone remained. Still more does the greatness lie in the truths they conveyed. A man does not go to these or any speeches of Chatham to help him solve some knotty problem in politics or win some dialectical advantage; he does not even go there as he would to Burke's, to harmonise some clash of conflicting interests in conformity with the British constitution as established by the Revolution. But he does go to find out the great principles on which all states must be successfully governed: the principles of justice and true wisdom, of fore-

[1] From a letter of Harriot Pitt to her mother, December 6, 1777.

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thought and of healthy national pride, a pride which dares on occasion yield.

November 20, 1777. The speech on the Address is a measured indictment of ministers, but it is more: it enunciates principles which must form the text of the statesman for all time. First he deals with the attempt to govern without the advice of Parliament: 'We must display, in its full danger and true colours, the ruin that is brought to our doors . . . it is the right of Parliament to give, as it is the duty of the Crown to ask advice. But on this day . . . no reliance is placed in our constitutional counsels.' To Chatham the degradation of England before the Bourbons was especially bitter. He saw France openly transacting business with emissaries of our own alienated subjects, and he remembered the day when he told Choiseul that France must not 'presume' to interfere in our disputes with another Power; and in words of burning indignation he interpreted the feelings of a proud people:

> France, my Lords, has insulted you. Do ministers presume to hint a vindication of their honour by requiring the dismissal of the plenipotentiaries of America? . . . But yesterday and England might have stood against the world: now none so poor to do her reverence. I use the words of a poet, but, though it be poetry, it is no fiction.

He drew a picture only too true of our own want of preparation with scarce twenty ships ready for sea and with England and Ireland almost denuded of troops; while France was sending help to America, Spain was the mistress of the Tagus, and the two Powers were making preparations 'from Dunkirk to the streights . . . to overwhelm these defenceless islands.' Then, coming to the root of the whole business, 'What,' he asked, 'is the cause of this ruinous and ignominious situation, if not the desperate state of our arms in America? In three campaigns we have done nothing and suffered much. You cannot, I venture to say it, you cannot conquer America.' This was no idle foreboding of the great war minister, who still had fresh in his mind what Loudoun, Abercromby and Amherst, then sitting by him in the House of Lords, had gone

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through before English troops won their way from Albany to Canada. Now Burgoyne had been given the task of marching through a more hostile population from Canada to Albany, and with prophetic insight he declared that he and his northern army were perhaps already 'a total loss.'[1] 'I repeat, my Lords, conquest is impossible'; and he proclaimed with burning shame the dishonour brought on our army by the ignoble methods employed to fight for an ignoble cause:

. . . you may traffic and barter with every little pitiful German prince that sells and sends his subjects to the shambles of a foreign prince; your efforts are for ever vain and impotent . . . your own army is infected with the contagion of these illiberal allies. The spirit of rapine and plunder is gone forth among them. . . . But, my Lords, who is the man that, in addition to these disgraces and mischiefs of our army, has dared to authorize and associate to our arms the tomahawk and scalping knife of the savage? . . . It is not the least of our national misfortunes, that the strength and character of our army are thus impaired: infected with the mercenary spirit of robbery and rapine—familiarized to the horrid scenes of savage cruelty, it can no longer boast of the noble and generous principles which dignify a soldier. . . . Besides these murderers and plunderers, let me ask our ministers, what other allies have they acquired? . . . Have they entered into alliance with the king of the gipsies? Nothing, my Lords, is too low or too ludicrous to be consistent with their counsels. . . . Whilst this is notoriously our sinking condition America grows and flourishes. . . . You have been three years teaching them the art of war: they are apt scholars . . . My Lords, if I were an American as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country I never would lay down my arms—never—never—never!

Independence, however, he as an Englishman would not grant. 'In a just and necessary war, to maintain the rights or honour of my country, I would strip the shirt from my back to support it.' But the Americans were not to be won by war but by reconcilement:

the strong bias of America . . . naturally inclines to this happy and constitutional reconcilement with you. Notwithstanding the

[1] The news of Burgoyne's surrender on October 17 reached London on December 2, 1777—twelve days after this speech.

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temporary intrigues with France we may still be assured of their ancient and confirmed partiality to us. America and France cannot be congenial; there is something decisive and confirmed in the honest American, that will not assimilate to the futility and levity of Frenchmen.

In the debate Lord Suffolk defended the employment of Indian savages to scalp and torture, on policy, on necessity, and even on principle: 'It is,' he said, 'perfectly justifiable to use all the means that God and nature have put into our hands.' Chatham sprang up:

I am astonished! shocked! to hear such principles confessed—to hear them avowed in this House, or in this country—principles equally unconstitutional, inhuman, and unchristian! . . . I know not what ideas that lord may entertain of God and nature, but I know that such abominable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. . . . I call upon the right reverend Bench, those holy ministers of the Gospel and pious pastors of our Church . . . I appeal to the wisdom and the law of this learned Bench to defend and support the justice of their country; I call upon the bishops to interpose the unsullied sanctity of their lawn; upon the learned judges to interpose the purity of their ermine, to save us from this pollution . . . I invoke the genius of the constitution. From the tapestry that adorns these walls, the immortal ancestor of this noble lord[1] frowns with indignation at the disgrace of his country. In vain he led your victorious fleets against the boasted Armada of Spain; in vain he defended and established the honour, the liberties, the religion, the *Protestant religion* of this country, against the arbitrary cruelties of popery and the Inquisition, if these more than popish cruelties are let loose among us—to turn forth into our settlements among our ancient connections, friends, and relations the merciless cannibal, thirsting for the blood of man, woman and child! . . . against your Protestant brethren; to lay waste their country, to desolate their dwellings and extirpate their race and name with these horrible hell-hounds of savage war! hell-hounds, I say, of savage war. . . . Let the holy prelates of our religion . . . perform a lustration; let them purify this House and this country from this sin. My Lords, I am old and weak, and at present unable to say more; but my feelings and indignation were too strong to have said less. I could not have slept this night in my bed, nor reposed my head on my pillow, without giving vent

[1] Lord Howard of Effingham, Earl of Nottingham.

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to my eternal abhorrence of such preposterous and enormous principles.[1]

In these speeches Chatham had poured forth his soul, but, nothing daunted by his failure to persuade, returned thrice more to utter the same truths with that inexhaustible wealth of illustration and that glorious use of his mother tongue which were all his own. To confirm his worst fears, news had come of the disaster to Burgoyne on December 2, and, though the King appeared unmoved and as concerned about changes in his household as about America, the Ministry were not so stoical and suddenly changed from truculence and contempt of the Americans to visions of conciliation. But Chatham knew that no terms offered by the present ministers would be looked at by the Americans: 'They have virtue,' he said, 'and must detest the principles of such men; they have too much understanding and wisdom to trust to that cunning and those narrow politics from which such overtures proceed.' Peace, he said, must be proffered by men whom they could trust—men like the Rockingham Whigs or himself; and in his last speech before the recess he hinted that he would take office again to make peace, as the whole country was beginning to demand. But once more at a critical moment the Rockinghams broke loose. They were at one with Chatham in the demand for vigorous preparations against the Bourbons and in desiring peace with America. But they had convinced themselves that America would now take nothing less than independence, and this they were prepared to give. Rather than break up the heritage of the Crown Chatham would have fought more obstinately than George III. 'I will as soon subscribe to Transubstantiation,' he wrote to Shelburne, 'as to Sovereignty (by right) in the colonies.' But he did not think that it need come to that: peace with the Sovereignty of the Crown he still believed possible, and it may be that

December 11, 1777.

[1] It is worth comparing Boyd's report of this debate with that in *Aff. Etr. Angl. Corr. Pol.* 526, f. 7. (Stevens, '*Facsimiles*,' 1743.) The French ambassador Noailles brings out into greater relief Chatham's description of our unprepared condition and to that extent is probably more trustworthy, since in the next speech Chatham refers again to his controversy on this day with Sandwich about the numbers of the fleet.

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the Americans would even yet have taken it at his hands. During the few remaining months of his life he upheld this view with all his might and once more found himself standing aloof from the Whigs. In every speech he dwelt on the importance

November 20, 1777. of America to England. 'She was the fountain of our wealth, the nerve of our strength, the nursery and basis of our naval

December 5, 1777. power,' he said in one speech. In another, 'She has been the great support of this country; she has produced millions; she afforded soldiers and sailors; she has given our manufacturers employment and enriched our merchants.' Instead of embittering the relations of England with America he tried to bring about reconcilement by pleading the virtues of the 'rebels.' He paid tributes to their services in past wars against France, adding that even now, if they were treated as he had

December 2, 1777. treated the rebel Highlanders, 'they would fight your battles; they would cheerfully bleed for you; they would render you superior to all your foreign enemies; they would bear your arms triumphant to every quarter of the globe.' On news

December 11, 1777. of their treatment of Burgoyne and his army he admired and applauded

> the generous, magnanimous conduct, the noble friendship, brotherly affection and humanity of the victors . . . who, condescending to impute the horrid orders of massacre and devastation to their true authors, supposed that as soldiers and Englishmen, those cruel excesses could not have originated with the general nor were consonant to the brave and humane spirit of a British soldier. . . . Those men whom you called cowards, poltroons, runaways, and knaves are become victorious over your veteran troops; and in the midst of victory, and the flush of conquest, have set ministers an example of moderation and magnanimity.

Such was the country, such the men for whom he pleaded. 'And for what,' he exclaimed, 'have we sacrificed all those advantages? The pursuit of a peppercorn!'

During these debates he had some wrangles with members of the Government who discovered with joy that he had given orders to Amherst to employ Indians in the French wars. Clear proof was brought up that he had done so, but he dismissed the point airily, saying, 'they were only used to scour the woods'—

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which was true of his intentions if not of the universal practice in our armies.[1] Had he personally been more to blame in the past than he was, it would have made no difference in the denunciations he uttered again and again on the barbarous methods then employed by ministers; and he was no more moved than he had ever been by taunts of inconsistency. Those who attacked him still did so at their peril. In a duel on this subject with Lord Gower, the man who had insolently sneered at him for his age, he proved that he had not lost that power of rough repartee which had made old Horace Walpole, Murray and Robinson quail. 'While I, my Lords, was waging war against the power of France, that lord,' he said, 'was immersed in pleasure and indulging himself in all the variety of dissipation common to young men.' In his final browbeating of ministers he could still make them look supremely ridiculous by his disconcerting quotations from the history books. Reflecting on the folly of the men who had lost America 'for a peppercorn,' he suddenly found a parallel to it in that of a duke of Burgundy, who had lost his dominions for a quarrel about a 'cargo of skins.' 'The duke was conjured not to go to war, but "he was determined steadily to pursue the same measures," he marched against "the deluded multitude";[2] but at last gave one instance of his magnanimity, by imputing his misfortunes to his own obstinacy,' a merit which the King and his Cabinet had not yet shown. But these flashes of grim humour came merely as interludes to the main themes, recurring with overpowering insistence, of national honour and national danger. 'This very nation remains safe no longer than its enemies think proper to permit,' he took for his text of attacks on ministers' incompetence and neglect of home defence, and, in the same speech, told them they could not be trusted to see to the security of the country and reminded the peers that it was their duty at such a time 'to inquire into past misconduct; to provide remedies for the present; to prevent future evils; to rest on your arms . . . to watch for the public safety; to defend and support the Throne; or, if fate should so ordain it, to fall

December 5, 1777.

December 11, 1777.

[1] See discussion of this point, *note* p. 34 above.
[2] These expressions came in the King's Speech.

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with becoming fortitude with the rest of your fellow-subjects in the general ruin.'

During the recess and the early months of 1778 Chatham was at Hayes. In public and in private men of all parties were now clamouring for his return to power. The American general Gates wrote hoping that the 'great state physician' might bring peace and commercial union with America. In the House of Commons his nephew Grenville called for the man 'of whom the House of Bourbon stands more peculiarly in awe, . . . who unites the confidence of England and America.' Lord Bute and the Duke of Northumberland, through various emissaries such as Coutts the banker, Capability Brown, and Dr. Addington and his friend Sir James Wright, had 'dapplings for peace' with him with a view to his accession to office. Coutts told Lady Chatham 'every rank looks up to him with the only gleam of hope that remains.' Richmond, the most active of the Whigs, said he would willingly give up his views on independence if Chatham came to show a better way. Rochford, who had resigned on the American question, wanted to see him in office; Lord North himself, conscious of his own weakness and of Chatham's strength, was anxious to make room for him in the Ministry; even Mansfield thought him indispensable. His son-in-law, Lord Mahon, wrote him a long letter explaining the general desire to see him minister. Chatham himself, as was his wont, paid little heed to these unauthorized openings. When he heard that Bute had expressed a desire for a change he agreed with him in general terms, but on a message which seemed to imply that Bute was busy constructing a ministry to contain both of them, he curtly asked Addington what the 'officious emissary' meant by his 'nonsense,' and told him the difference between himself and the Scottish earl was, 'one has ruined the King and kingdom; the other still endeavours to save it.'[1] To Coutts he wrote by Lady

[1] The controversial literature between Addington and Wright on the truth of their respective versions of this 'dappling' attained inordinate proportions. The curious will find it given *in extenso* in Thackeray. Sir James Wright had been envoy to Venice and, finding time hang heavy on his hands since his retirement, was glad 'to appear a man of consequence,' as George III said. Addington also loved an intrigue. But excessive importance has been attached to the incident of these two busybodies.

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Chatham's hand that 'to rescue a falling country from the last consequence of their fatal errors . . . is a work too dangerous (not to say impossible) for presumption to undertake unbidden and uncommanded.'

The only commands Chatham would ever take on the subject of office were the King's, but his last speeches had not smoothed the way to royal favour. He had spoken of the system at St. James's as 'breaking all connection and extinguishing all principle, . . . whereby pliable men, not capable men, had been brought into the highest and most responsible positions,' and had prophesied that a day of retribution was coming 'when the vengeance of a much injured and afflicted people will fall heavily on the authors of their ruin.' The King by this time hated Chatham with all the narrow obstinacy of his nature, and told North that he would 'rather lose his crown than bear the ignominy of possessing it under the shackles of Lord Chatham and his crew.' But even the King had at last to yield. On January 30, 1778, a commercial treaty had been signed between France and the United States, and, on February 6, a defensive treaty of alliance. Lord North could hardly be persuaded to remain in office to bring in his proposals of conciliation with America on February 17, and insisted on an offer being made to Lord Chatham. At length in March George III empowered North to address Lord Chatham through Eden, one of the peace commissioners nominated to America—but on conditions which made success impossible.[1] The Ministry was to remain Lord North's, and Chatham was merely to be given a place in it, and George III added: 'I cannot consent to have any conversation with him till the Ministry is formed . . . should Lord Chatham wish to see me before he gives an answer I shall most certainly refuse it.' Eden did not see Chatham, but Shelburne on his behalf. Shelburne told him that if Chatham came in 'he must be dictator,' must comprehend every party in his administration, and be allowed to admit Rockingham and Grafton, and remove Mansfield. The Rockinghams had a meeting with

December 5 and 11, 1777.

[1] See Russell, *C. J. Fox*, for an account of this negotiation. The Prussian minister states that North also sent Amherst to sound Chatham. (Ruville, iii. 338.) See also *George III and Lord North*.

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Shelburne the same night and proved irreconcilable to Chatham's views on America. A visit of Shelburne to Hayes confirmed him in his statement of Chatham's terms. This was enough for the King. He was highly indignant at Eden for even listening to such terms, and was glad of the excuse to have no further dealings with 'that perfidious man.'

By this time the demand for granting independence to America had become almost irresistible. England in her present condition was obviously unable to cope with France as well as America. The Ministry were the first to be conscious of this. Mauduit, who eighteen years before had dealt so serious a blow at Pitt's continental policy, was again employed, this time with the connivance of Government, to declare for independence. 'Never,' says Hutchinson on March 22, 1778, 'was such an instantaneous conversion of a whole kingdom' to a view, which a few months before had earned the title of traitor for all who held it. The Whigs were already pledged to this course. Chatham and the King almost alone stood out against it. It is idle to speculate what exact measures Chatham would have employed to avoid acknowledging independence, to keep peace with America and to fight France. No statesman would care to commit himself definitely until he had full responsibility and was possessed of full information. No doubt, however, Shelburne, who was then in close touch with Chatham, was right in stating that the general lines of his policy would be to withdraw all troops from America except from a few fortified places, repeal all laws objectionable to the Americans, cut off French communications with America by the fleet, and concentrate all efforts on the war with France.[1] Never would he, as Camden told him the ministers were doing, have sued abjectly to France for peace. Independence for America he no less resolutely refused, and he read with 'unspeakable concern' a motion proposed for April 7, by the Duke of Richmond, with the full consent of the whole Whig

[1] Russell, *C. J. Fox*; Fitzmaurice, *Shelburne*, ii, 16 *sqq*. Chatham after his seizure is also said to have stated that he would appoint Prince Ferdinand to command the English forces.

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party, begging the King to dismiss his ministers, to withdraw all his troops from the revolted provinces, and 'to adopt only amicable means to recover their friendship, at least, if not their allegiance.'

On April 7, Chatham came up to London, accompanied by his three sons and his son in-law Lord Mahon. To recover from the fatigue of the journey he rested awhile in the Princes' Chamber before entering the House. Here Camden saw him and found him so distempered and agitated that he tried to persuade him not to attend the debate: but it was useless. 'Your grace knows,' wrote Camden to Grafton, 'how obstinate he is, when he is resolved.' As Chatham entered, supported by William and Lord Mahon, every man in that House, crowded from gallery to floor, seemed conscious that it was a great day in the history of England. The whole assemblage rose and the peers reverentially made way for him as he passed to his seat on the earls' bench. So shrunk was he with illness and suffering that from his bushy wig little could be seen of his countenance but the great aquiline nose and the flashing eyes. The Duke of Richmond spoke first; next Lord Weymouth for the ministers; then Chatham rose, leaning on his crutches and supported on each side. Taking one hand from its crutch and raising it to heaven, 'I thank God,' he said, 'that I have been enabled to come here this day, to perform my duty. . . . I am old and infirm, have one foot, more than one foot, in the grave—I am risen from my bed, to stand up in the cause of my country—perhaps never again to speak in this House.' There was an awed stillness; a handkerchief dropped would have been heard. He went on speaking, but was not like himself; his speech faltered, his sentences were broken, his mind was not its own master. But his words, says Camden, were still shreds of unconnected eloquence, flashes of the same fire which Prometheus-like he had stolen from heaven, and were then returning to the place whence they were taken. 'My Lords,' came in one of these flashes, 'his Majesty succeeded to an empire as great in extent as its reputation was unsullied. Shall we tarnish the lustre of this nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and fairest possessions? Shall this great kingdom

April 7, 1778.

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that has survived whole and entire the Danish depredations, the Scottish inroads '—and he yet had spirit to give a meaning glance at Mansfield—' the Norman Conquest, that has stood the threatened invasion of the Spanish Armada—now fall prostrate before the House of Bourbon? . . . Shall a people that fifteen years ago was the terror of the world now stoop so low as to tell its ancient inveterate enemy, "Take all we have, only give us peace"?' Rather than deprive the heirs of the Princess Sophia, the royal offspring of the House of Brunswick, of the thirteen provinces of America he would call all the young princes, the Prince of Wales and his brothers, to tell the House if they would consent to the loss of their heritage 'the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy,' 'My Lords, any state is better than despair; if we must fall, let us fall like men.' He sank down and Temple whispered him that he had forgotten something—should he get up and say it? 'No, no,' said Chatham, 'I will do it by and by.' The Duke of Richmond answered him with gentle courtesy, then Chatham attempted to rise again. As he rose he fell back on his seat, to all appearances in the agonies of death. At once the House was in a muffled tumult, peers running hither and thither for salts and cordials, and crowding round him where he was being tenderly cared for by William and James Charles, Mahon, Temple and the King's brother, the Duke of Cumberland. Every one was astir but Mansfield, who sat almost as unmoved as the senseless body itself.[1] Then he was carried to an adjoining chamber and attended by Drs. Brocklesby and Addington, who had been hastily summoned. He revived and after a fit of sickness recovered enough to be

[1] Copley's famous picture, 'The Death of Chatham,' reconstitutes the scene. In some cases at least Copley took special sittings of those who figure in the picture. Harriot Pitt writes to her mother in May 1779 that she had been dining with Lord Temple: 'He has been sitting for his picture to the man who is painting the great and melancholy scene in the House of Lords, and I am told that his likeness is most striking. We have seen the enamel at Dr. Addington's. The design is beautiful.' Certainly the likeness of 'eager Mr. William' is excellent.

It seems a pity that this fine historical picture should have been removed from the National Gallery and relegated to the Royal Gallery in the House of Lords, where it is badly hung and can be seen by very few people.

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taken for the night to an adjoining house, and two days later to be driven to Hayes. For a brief space he seemed to be getting better, and even wrote to the Prussian envoy that he was feeling well. But he must have felt the end approaching. He bade William read to him from the 'Iliad' of the death of Hector, and when Lord Pitt would have stayed with him instead of joining his regiment at Gibraltar, 'Go, my son,' he replied, 'go whither your country calls you: let her engross all your attention; spare not a moment, which is due to her service, in weeping over an old man, who will soon be no more.' On the afternoon of May 11, 1778, he died.

That night in the House of Commons Barré moved that the remains of the Great Commoner should be interred at the public charge and a monument erected to his memory in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster; Lord North came in breathless on hearing the news and supported the motion in a few words of deep emotion. On the 13th an address was passed unanimously, praying the King to make suitable provision for his family. The peers by a casting vote deprived their House of the honour of attending his funeral as a body, and the King paid one last tribute of malevolence to the memory of the man who had stood for the Parliament and people of England against their subjugation by the Crown: 'I was surprised,' he wrote, 'at the vote of a public funeral and monument . . . an offensive measure to me personally.' These were the only jarring notes. The sorrowing multitude of citizens and common folk at his obsequies made ample amends for the absence of the Court. On June 7 and 8 the body lay in state on a pompous catafalque, surmounted by a baldachino with his coat of arms; round the catafalque stood eight halberdiers and ten torch-bearers; the walls of the Painted Chamber, where he lay, were hung with black and lit with lustres. On the 9th he was borne in solemn procession through Westminster Hall to his last resting-place by the north door of the Abbey. He would have wished it so, for he loved stateliness and pomp in his own person and for all that concerned England—that dear land with which his whole life was bound

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up, the country whose great nerve seemed with his death unstrung. Two fitting inscriptions were carved in his honour: one at Burton Pynsent, 'To the dear memory of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, this marble is inscribed by Hester, his beloved Wife'; the other by Burke for the citizens of London in their Guildhall, 'that they may never meet for the transaction of their affairs without being reminded that the means by which Providence raises a nation to greatness are the virtues infused into great men.'

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APPENDICES

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

List of Speeches Delivered by William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.

[Note on the Authenticity of Pitt's Speeches.—The reports of speeches in Parliament given in magazines and newspapers during Pitt's lifetime are little to be trusted. It was a breach of privilege to publish debates, and strangers found taking notes in either House were liable to summary ejection. The public demand for an account of parliamentary proceedings was nevertheless so great that various periodicals professed to give accounts of debates under the thin disguises of debates in 'the Senate of Lilliput' (*Gentleman's Magazine*) or 'Proceedings of the Political Club' (*London Magazine*), while the speakers were given fictitious names such as 'Ptit' for Pitt in the former, or classical titles such as *Maecenas* for Lyttelton, *Pomponius Atticus* for old Horace Walpole, and *Julius Florus* for Pitt in the latter. The speeches given were often written up by men who had not heard them and at most knew the general line of argument taken up by the speakers. Dr. Johnson, for example, who wrote the speeches in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for the period November 25, 1740, to February 22, 1743, was only once in the House of Commons, and declared to Murphy that he wrote Pitt's retort to old Horace Walpole (March 10, 1740) in his garret. Guthrie wrote the speeches in the same magazine before Johnson. Gordon until 1750 wrote the speeches in the *London Magazine*, which are probably more accurate than those in its rival. Great trouble was taken by the editors to secure as much accuracy as possible, and in some cases members themselves condescended to correct the reports of their own speeches. Later the *Literary Magazine* and the *Annual Register* had similar accounts

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of debates. For want of better authority these accounts may be taken to indicate the line of argument adopted by Pitt and some of his phrases, which in the case of so well known an orator were repeated by his hearers and often talked about.

More trustworthy sources of information are the notes or letters written by members of Parliament at the time, e.g. Sir R. Walpole's notes, Philip Yorke's 'Journal,' Horace Walpole's letters and memoirs. The last writer's accounts of speeches are of first-rate authority, both for arguments and phrases, and are strikingly confirmed in many instances where other reports are given by independent witnesses. The reports by American agents to their assemblies, many of which Bancroft consulted, are important for the speeches on America. The accounts by foreign envoys to their courts of debates in Parliament are also of great value. At the time the English legislature was the only representative institution in Europe: its debates, therefore, excited special interest abroad. The French and Prussian envoys are particularly full in their reports of speeches, which they sometimes heard themselves, while sometimes they had accounts of them from secret emissaries.[1]

But the only speeches of Pitt of which there are exact accounts are the speech of January 14, 1766 (debate on Address), reported by Sir R. Dean, assisted by Lord Charlemont; and those reported by Sir Philip Francis and Hugh Boyd.

Even those reported by Francis cannot always be trusted, for, though some were published at once in the *London Museum*, it is doubtful if he made up his rough notes of others before 1792, when he gave the reports to Almon (Parkes and Merivale, 'Memoirs of Sir P. Francis,' vol. i, Appendix). Those given on the authority of Sir R. Dean and Hugh Boyd may be regarded as the most accurate renderings of the orator's thought and language.

Many of Pitt's best-known phrases and the knowledge of his ways of speaking come from traditions and anecdotes collected by Walpole, Charles Butler, Timbs, Nichols, Grattan, and others. A better idea of his oratory is conveyed by the descriptions of Walpole and other hearers than in any formal reports.

[1] See *Aff. Etr. Angl. Corr. Pol.* 495, ff. 282–3, for an account of the cleverness of one of these emissaries in eluding detection in 1771 (quoted by P. Mantoux, *Comptes Rendus des Séances du Parl. Anglais*, Paris, 1906).

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For a discussion on the authenticity of Dr. Johnson's reports, see Birbeck Hill ('Boswell's Johnson,' vol. i, Appendix A); for Francis's reports see Parkes and Merivale, vol. i, Appendix; and for an account of the reports to be found in the archives of the French Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, see P. Mantoux, *op. cit.*

The prefaces of vols. ix, x, xi and xii of the 'Parliamentary History' give useful accounts of the sources drawn upon by the editors.

The subjoined table of Pitt's speeches with authorities has been drawn up from material, collected by myself, by Mrs. Hilary Jenkinson, of whose kindness and exactitude I have already spoken in the preface. For several of the later references I am indebted to Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, Director of the Carnegie Institute of Washington. I have verified all the references myself except five in the Rijks Archief and one at Simancas.

Duplicate versions, indicated by the marks * or §, have in several cases been given to facilitate reference. The debates, for example, in Chandler and the Dublin Collection, have all been used by the editor of the 'Parliamentary History.' In the case of books like Walpole's 'Memoirs and Correspondence,' Almon, and the 'Parliamentary History,' where the speeches can easily be found under the dates, the page references have not been given.]

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOLLOWING TABLE.

'Add.' = 'British Museum Additional MSS.'
'Aff. Etr.' = 'Affaires Etrangères,' *Angleterre, Corr. Politique.*
Almon = 'Anecdotes of the Life of Chatham' (various editions).
'Bed.' = 'Bedford Correspondence.'
'Ch.' = 'Chatham Correspondence.'
'Ch. MSS.' = 'Chatham MSS.' in Record Office.
Chandler = 'History and Proceedings of House of Commons' (published by Chandler, 1744).
Coxe = Coxe, 'Sir R. Walpole' (3 vols.; ed. 1798).
'Gr.' = 'Grenville Papers.'
'H. C.' = 'Historical MSS. Commission.'
'P. H.' = 'Parliamentary History.'
'Pol. Corr.' = 'Pol. Cor. Friedrichs des Grossen' (30 vols., Berlin).
Sand. Miller = 'An 18th Cent. Correspondence to Sanderson Miller' (1910).
Schaefer = Schaefer, 'Geschichte des 7 Jahrigen Krieges' (Berlin, 1870).
'W. C.' = 'Walpole's Correspondence.'
'W. M.' = Walpole's 'Memoirs of George II and George III,' and 'Walpole's Journal of the Reign of George III.'

Other abbreviations will easily be recognised by reference to Appendix B.

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House of Commons.

No.	Date.	Subject.	Reference in Text.	Authorities, &c.
1	April 29, 1736	Marriage of the Prince of Wales.	Vol. i, p. 65	Almon *; Chandler, ix, 223 * 'P. H.'*; Thackeray.*
2	Feb. 18, 173$\frac{8}{7}$	Vote for 17,000 men for the army.	,, p. 67, note 3	'Aff. Etr.' 394, f. 109; 'Egmont MSS.' 84.
3	Feb. 23, 173$\frac{8}{7}$	Grant of £10,000 to the Prince of Wales.	,, p. 69	Chandler, ix, 277.
4	Feb. 4, 5, 173$\frac{7}{8}$	Reduction of army from 17,000 to 12,000 men.	,, pp. 68, 70, 74	Almon *; Chandler, x, 82§; 'Dublin Coll.' xv, 431§; 'H. C.' XV, vii, 319; 'P. H.'§; Thackeray *.
5	March 28, 1738	Committee on Spanish grievances.	,, p. 75	Coxe, i, 580; 'H. C.' XIV, ix, 239–40.
6	March 8, 173$\frac{8}{9}$	Address on Convention with Spain.	,, p. 76	Almon *; Chandler, xi, 31; Coxe, i, 594–604; *ibid.* iii, 516–20; 'Dublin Coll.' xviii, 43 *; *Lond. Mag.*; 'P.H.' *; Thackeray.
7	Nov. 18, 1740	Debate on Address.	,, p. 82	Coxe, iii, 557.
8	Jan. 26, 174$\frac{0}{1}$	Motion for Rear-Admiral Haddock's Instructions.	,, p. 82	Almon *; Chandler, xii, 46 *; 'Dublin Coll.' xxi, 87; Johnson, i, 125 *; 'P. H.' *; Thackeray.*
9	Feb. 13, 174$\frac{0}{1}$	Motion for removal of Sir Robert Walpole.	,, p. 83	'Aff. Etr.' 411, f. 151; Almon*; Chandler, xiii, 210 *; Coxe, i, 663; *ibid.* iii, 559; *Gent's. Mag.*; *Lond. Mag.* *; Mahon, iii, App. p. iv; 'P. H.' *; Thackeray.*
10	March 10, 174$\frac{0}{1}$	On Wager's bill for manning the Fleet.	,, p. 84	Almon; Chandler, xii, 271 *; Coxe, 'Ld. Walpole,' ii, 184; 'Dublin Coll.' xxi, 220; *Gent.'s Mag.*; 'P. H.'*; Thackeray*.
11	Jan. 21, 174$\frac{1}{2}$	Debate on the state of the nation.	,, p. 87 note	'Ch. MSS.' 74 (for Pitt's notes); Coxe, i, 694; *ibid.* iii, 587 (for account of debate).

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No.	Date.	Subject.	Reference in Text.	Authorities, &c.
12	March 9, 174$\frac{1}{2}$[1]	Lord Limerick's first motion—for inquiring into conduct of Government for the last twenty years.	Vol. i, p. 89	Almon; Chandler, xiii, 169 *; Coxe, iii, 595; *Gent.'s Mag.*; *Lond. Mag.*; 'P. H.' (containing *Lond.* and *Gent.'s Mags.* versions); Thackeray.*
13	March 23, 174$\frac{1}{2}$[1]	Lord Limerick's second motion—for inquiring into conduct of Government for the last ten years.	,, p. 91	Almon; Chandler, xiii, 189 *; *Gent.'s Mag.*; *Lond. Mag.*; 'P. H.' (containing *Lon.* and *Gent.'s Mags.* versions); Thackeray.*
14	Nov. 16, 1742	Debate on Address.	,, p. 104	'Aff. Etr.' 416, f. 60· 'Gr.' i, 19.
15	Dec. 1, 1742	Waller's motion for reviving the Committee on Orford.	,, p. 92	Chandler, xiv, 32; Ruville, i. 201.
16	Dec. 7, 1742	Vote for troops in Flanders.	,, p. 104	'Aff. Etr.' 416, f. 140; *Mag. des Nouvelles Anglaises*; Oswald, 'Memorials.'
17	Dec. 10, 1742	On taking Hanoverian troops into British pay.	,, p. 105	Almon *; *Gent.'s Mag.**; *Mag. des Nouvelles Anglaises* (Hague), Dec. 29, 1742; 'P. H.'*; Thackeray *; 'W.C.'
18	Feb. 24, 174$\frac{2}{3}$	Motion of Lord Barrington to dismiss mercenary troops.	,, p. 105	'Caldwell Papers,' ii, 48.
19	Dec. 1, 1743	Address of thanks in answer to King's Speech.	,, pp. 108, 111	Almon; *Lond. Mag.*; 'P. H.' (Philip Yorke's Journal); Thackeray; 'W. C.'
20	Dec. 6, 1743	Waller's motion for address praying Hanoverian troops should not be employed after December 25.	,, pp. 113, 116	'Caldwell Papers,' ii, 55; 'P. H.' (Philip Yorke's Journal)*; Thackeray *; 'W. C.'
21	Dec. 15, 1743	Grenville's motion for address on conduct of war.	,, p. 115	'P. H.' (Philip Yorke's Journal)*; Thackeray.*
22	Jan. 18, 174$\frac{3}{4}$[2]	In committee, concerning pay of Hanoverian troops.	,, p. 113	'P. H.' (Philip Yorke's Journal)*; Thackeray.*

[1] The versions of these two speeches in Almon and Thackeray are approximately the same as those published by the *London Magazine* in December 1742; the versions by Dr. Johnson, also contained in *Parliamentary History*, were not published till May 1743. Both Almon and Thackeray omit one characteristic passage in the second speech, given in the *London Magazine* version.

[2] The speech of January 17 attributed to Pitt in Thackeray (i, 123) is correctly attributed to George Grenville in the *Parliamentary History* (xiii, 401–7).

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No.	Date.	Subject.	Reference in Text.	Authorities, &c.
23	Jan. 19, 174$\frac{3}{4}$	Same question brought up to whole House.	Vol. i, p. 113	'P. H.' (Philip Yorke's Journal)*; Thackeray*; 'W. C.'
24	Jan. 25, 174$\frac{3}{4}$	Waller's motion for papers re Treaty of Worms.	„ p. 119	'P. H.' (Philip Yorke's Journal).
25	Feb. 13, 174$\frac{3}{4}$	Proposal by Chancellor of Exchequer to impose additional duty on brown sugar.	„ p. 120	'P. H.' (Philip Yorke's Journal).
26	Feb. 15, 174$\frac{3}{4}$	Address from both Houses in answer to King's message about Pretender's plans of invasion.	„ p. 118	'P. H.' (Philip Yorke's Journal); 'W. C.'
27	Feb. 20, 22 174$\frac{3}{4}$	Debate on tax on sugar and on foreign linens.	„ p. 120	'P. H.' (Philip Yorke's Journal).
28	Feb. 24, 174$\frac{3}{4}$	Address to King for augmentation of land and sea forces.	„ p. 119	'P. H.' (Philip Yorke's Journal)*; Thackeray.*
29	Feb. 28, 174$\frac{3}{4}$	Address on message that Lord Barrymore, M.P., had been arrested for correspondence with the Pretender.	„ p. 118	'P. H.' (Philip Yorke's Journal).
30	March 19, 20, April 10, 1744	Debates in Commons about extraordinary charges of troops in British pay, 1742–3.	„ p. 119	'P. H.' (Philip Yorke's Journal).
31	April 3, 1744	Address to King in answer to his speech announcing the French King's declaration of war.	„ p. 119	'P. H.' (Philip Yorke's Journal).
32	April 24, 1744.	Debate on Levant Trade Bill.	„ p. 120	'P. H.' (Philip Yorke's Journal).
33	May 3, 1744	Debate on Lord's amendments to Bill to prevent correspondence with Pretender's sons.	„ p. 119	'P. H.' (Philip Yorke's Journal); 'W. C.'
34	Jan. 23, 174$\frac{4}{5}$	In committee of supply, vote for 25,000 men for Flanders.	„ p. 132	'Aff. Etr.' 419, f. 108; 'P. H.' (Philip Yorke's Journal).
35	Feb. 18, 174$\frac{4}{5}$	In committee, on grant of £500,000 to Queen of Hungary.	„ p. 134	*Lond. Mag.*; 'P. H.' (Philip Yorke's Journal); 'W. C.'
36	Oct. 17, 1745	Address in answer to the King's Speech.	„ p. 137	Almon; *Lond. Mag.**; Mahon, iii, App. p. lx; 'P. H.'*; Thackeray.

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No.	Date.	Subject.	Reference in Text.	Authorities, &c.
37	Oct. 23, 1745	Address to the King advising him to recall the troops from Flanders.	Vol. i, p. 138	Malmesbury, 'Letters,' i, 7, 8.
38	Nov. 4, 1745	Hume Campbell's motion concerning army rank in newly-raised regiments.	,, p. 140	Almon *; Marchmont, i, 143 *sqq.*; 'P. H.'; Thackeray *; 'W. C.'; 'W. M.'
39	Nov. 21, 1745	Pitt's motion to augment the navy.	,, p. 143	'W. C.'
40	April 8, 1746	Vote for 18,000 Hanoverians.	,, p. 147	'Aff. Etr.' 422, f. 185; 'W. C.'
41	Nov. 20, 1747	Debate on the Seaford election.	,, p. 161	'P. H.'; 'W. C.'; 'W. M.'
42	Jan. 26, 174$\frac{7}{8}$	Wareham election petition.	,, p. 162	'Ch. MSS.' 83; Oswald, 'Mem.' 61.
43	Feb. 19, 174$\frac{7}{8}$	Bill for holding the summer assizes at Buckingham.	,, p. 202	'P. H.'; 'W. C.'
44	Feb. 7, 174$\frac{8}{9}$	Debate on Mutiny Bill	,, p. 171	Almon *; Coxe, 'Pelham,' ii, 64; 'P. H.' *; Thackeray *; 'W. C.'
45	April 21, 1749	Debate on grant to Glasgow to reimburse £10,000 exacted by the rebels.	,, p. 144	Almon *; *Lond. Mag.* *; 'P. H.' *; Thackeray (edited).*
46	Jan. 23, Feb. 7, 174$\frac{9}{50}$	Debate on third reading of Mutiny Bill.	, p. 171	Almon §; *Lond. Mag.* *; 'P. H.' *; Thackeray (edited) §; 'W. C.'
47	Feb. 5, 174$\frac{9}{50}$	Motion for papers re demolition of fortifications of Dunkirk.	,, pp. 165, 177	Almon *; *Lond. Mag.* §; 'P. H.' §; Thackeray*;
48	Jan. 17, 175$\frac{0}{1}$	Address of thanks for King's Speech.	,, pp. 63, 178	Almon; *Lond. Mag.* *; 'P. H.' *; 'W. C.'; 'W. M.'
49	Jan. 22, 29, 175$\frac{0}{1}$ [1]	Debate on Lord Barrington's motion for 8,000 men for the navy.	,, p. 169	Thackeray; 'W. C.'; 'W. M.'
50	Feb. 6, 175$\frac{0}{1}$	Debate on Murray's conduct at Westminster election.	,, p. 163	Coxe, 'Pelham,' ii, 182–86; Thackeray * 'W. M.'*
51	Feb. 22, 175$\frac{0}{1}$	Debate on subsidy to Elector of Bavaria.	,, pp. 169, 181	'P. H.'; 'W. M.'
52	Feb. 19, 26, 175$\frac{0}{1}$	Debate in committee on the Mutiny Bill.	,, p. 173	'P. H.'; 'W. M.'

[1] *Parliamentary History* says 25 (not 22) January.

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No.	Date.	Subject.	Reference in Text.	Authorities, &c.
53	Feb. 28, March 8, April 6, 1751.	Bill to naturalize foreign Protestants.	Vol. i, p. 174	'P. H.'; 'W. M.'
54	March 4, 5, April 18, 21, 1751.	Petition from the Minorchese, Don Juan Compagni, against General Anstruther.	,, pp. 172–3	Coxe, 'Pelham,' ii. 158–62; 'H. C.' XIV, lx, 313; 'W. C.'; 'W. M.'
55	May 16, 17, 20, 1751.	Debates on Regency Bill.	,, p. 187	Almon; Dodington, 121; 'P. H.' (containing *Lond.* and *Gent.'s Mag.* versions); Thackeray; 'W. M.'
56	Nov. 27, 1753	Committee on repeal of the Jew Naturalization Bill.	,, p. 175	'P. H.'; Sand. Miller, 200; Thackeray; 'W. M.'
57	Dec. 4, 1753	Proposal to repeal Plantation Act.	,, p. 176	'P. H.'; Thackeray *; 'W. M.'*
58	Nov. 14, 1754	Chelsea Pensioners Relief Bill.	,, pp. 157, 255	Almon *; *Lond. Mag.*§; 'P. H.'§; Thackeray.*
59	Nov. 25, 1754	Intervention in debate on Wilkes's petition against Delaval, M.P. for Berwick, for bribery.	,, p. 255	Thackeray; Waldegrave, 148–50; 'W. M.'
60	Nov. 25, 1754 (evening of same day).	On date of Colchester and Reading election petitions.	,, p. 256	Thackeray *; Waldegrave, 148–50 *; 'Aff. Etr.' 437; 'W. M.'
61	Nov. 27, 1754	Debate on Beckford's motion to reduce the army from 18,800 to 15,000.	,, p. 257	Thackeray *; Waldegrave 150–4 *; 'W. M.'
62	Dec. 11, 1754	On extending the Mutiny Act to troops raised in America when serving with British troops.	,, p. 258	'W. M.'
63	Dec. 19, 1754	Wareham election petition.	,, p. 163, note	'Commons' Journals'; 'W. M.'
64	Jan. 15, 1755	Debate on Bristol Nightly Watch Bill.	,, p. 258	'P. H.'
65	Feb. 26, 1755	Debate on Sheriffs-Depute Bill.	,, p. 258	Thackeray *; 'W. M.'*
66	March 4, 1755	Committee on Sheriffs-Depute Bill.	,, p. 258	'The Border Elliots,' 339; Thackeray *; 'W. M.'*
67	Nov. 13, 1755[1]	Debate on Address.	,, pp. 268, 270 note 3	'Add.' 32860, f. 471; 'P. H.'; Thackeray *; 'W. C.'; 'W. M.'*

[1] The speech given by Almon under this date is really that of December 10, 1755.

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No.	Date.	Subject.	Reference in Text.	Authorities, &c.
68	Nov. 20, 1755	On seamen for the navy.	Vol. i, pp.274–6	'Add.' 32861, f. 55; Thackeray *; 'W. M.'*
69	Dec. 2, 1755	Lord Pulteney's Bill for the encouragement of seamen and speedily manning the navy.	,, pp. 92–3, 275	'P. H.'; Thackeray *; 'W. M.' *
70	Dec. 5, 1755	Debate on 34,263 men for the army.	,, p. 275	'Bed.'; Thackeray *; 'W. M.' *
71	Dec. 8, 1755	Committee on laws about militia.	,, p. 278	'P. H.'; Thackeray *; 'W. M.' *
72	Dec. 10, 12, 15 1755	Hessian and Russian Treaties.	,, pp. 272, 276	Almon; Harris, 'Hardwick,' iii, 53; 'P. H.'; Rosebery, 431; Thackeray; 'W. C.'; 'W. M.'; 'Add.' 32861 f. 271.
73	Jan. 23, 1756	Debate on Beckford's complaint about Admiral Knowles, Governor of Jamaica.	,, p. 275	'W. M.'
74	Jan. 23, 1756	On Lyttelton's budget	,, p. 274	'W. C.'; 'W. M.'
75	Jan. 28, 1756	Vote of £12,000 for North America.	,, p. 274	Torrens, ii, 273; 'W. M.'
76	Feb. 9, 10, 12, 18, 20, 22, 1756.	Bill granting commissions to foreign Protestants.	,, p. 277	'P. H.'; 'W. C.'; 'W. M.'
77	March 3, 1756	Committee on the budget.	,, p. 274	Torrens, ii, 277; 'W. C.'; 'W. M.'
78	March, 23, 29, April 30, May 7, 1756.	Debates on Hessian and Hanoverian troops.	,, p. 278	'Add.' 32,864, ff. 446, 478, 486; Almon *; Phillimore, 'Lyttelton, ii, 507; 'P. H.' *; Thackeray; 'W. M.'
79	May 11, 12 or 13, 14 or 17, 1756.[1]	Debates on Prussian Treaty.	,, pp. 277–9	'P. H.'; Thackeray *; 'W. M.'*
80	Dec. 2, 1756	Debate on Address.	,, p. 290	'P. H.'; Phillimore, 'Lyttelton,' ii, 534; Sand. Miller, 349; Waldegrave, 'Memoirs,' 88; 'W. M.'
81	Feb. 17, 18, March 1, 1757.	Message from George II, re Prussian Treaty.	,, p. 305	'Pol. Corr.' xiv, 344; 'P. H.'; P.R.O. 'Conf. Misc.' (Wiedmarckter to Brühl, Feb. 22, 1757); Sand. Miller, 353; 'W. M.'; 'Ch.' i, 223.

[1] Almon (i, 282) is wrong in the dates he gives here.

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No.	Date.	Subject.	Reference in Text.	Authorities, &c.
82	Feb. 17, 23, 25, 26, 28, 1757	Byng's affair.	Vol. i, pp. 308–9	Almon; 'P. H.'; 'W. M.'; *The Test*, No. 17.
83	March 11, 1757	Legge's budget.	,, p. 305	'Add. MSS.' 32870, f. 256.
84	April 19–May 2, 1757	Debates on Minorca Inquiry.	,, p. 318	'Pol. Corr.' xv, 83; 'P. H.' 'W. C.'; 'W. M.'
85	May 20, 1757	Subsidy payment of £1,000,000 asked for.	,, p. 319	'Add.' 32871, f. 97; Glover, 98; 'W. M.'
86	July 4, 1757	King's Speech.	,, p. 312	'P. H.'
87	Dec. 1, 1757	King's Speech.	,, pp. 350, 352	'Ch. MSS.' 86 (Calcraft to Loudoun); 'P. H.'; Sand. Miller, 374; 'W. M.'
88	Dec. 14, 1757.	Debate on Army Estimates.	,, pp. 353, 355 & ii, 24	Almon; *Lond. Mag.* (Jan. 1758); Smollett, iv, 259; Schaefer, i, 665; Thackeray *; 'W. M.'*
89	Jan. 18, 1758	Message *re* supply for Hanoverian army.	,, p. 353	'P. H'; Schaefer, ii, 530.
90	March, April, 1758	Habeas Corpus Act amendment.	Vol. ii, p. 38	Yorke, 'Hardwicke,' iii, 4; 'P. H'; Phillimore, 'Lyttelton,' ii, 607–8; Thackeray; 'W. M.'
91	June 6, 1758	Message from King for vote on account.	,, p. 39	Climenson, ii, 127; 'P. H.'
92	Nov. 23, 1758	King's Speech and debate on Address	Vol. i, p. 361	Butler, 'Reminiscences'; Climenson, ii, 153; 'P.H.'; Schaefer, ii, 560; Thackeray *; Torrens, ii, 480; 'W.C.'; 'W. M.'*
93	Dec. 6, 1758	Thanks of House of Commons to Boscawen, Amherst, and Osborne.	,, p. 378	'Pol. Corr.' xvii, 436; 'P. H.'; 'W. M.'
94	Jan. 26, 1759	Prussian and Hessian Treaties.	,, p. 399	Torrens, ii, 486; 'W. C.'
95	March 9, 1759 [1]	Ways and Means and Supply.	Vol. ii, p. 53	'Add.' 32888, f. 423; 'P. H.'; Torrens, ii, 486; 'W. M.'
96	May 4, 1759	Bill for restraining privateers.	Vol. i, p. 401	'H. C.' IX, iii, 78b Torrens, ii, 499.
97	May 22, 1759	Vote of Credit.	,, p. 403	'P. H.'; Sand. Miller, 404.
98	May 30, 1759	Message about French invasion.	,, p. 403	'P.H.'; Thackeray; 'W. C.'; 'W. M.'

[1] Lyttelton (Phillimore, *Lyttelton*, ii, 607) dates this speech May 5, 1758.

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No.	Date.	Subject.	Reference in Text.	Authorities, &c.
99	Nov. 13, 1759	King's Speech and debate on Address.	Vol. ii, p. 17	'P. H.'; Schaefer, ii[1], 571; Thackeray *; Torrens, ii, 531; 'W. C.'; 'W. M.' *
100	Nov. 21, 1759	Address for monument in Westminster Abbey to Wolfe.	,, p. 13	'A Review of Mr. Pitt's Administration'; 'Ch.' *; 'W. M.' *
101	Nov. 23, 1759	Thanks to generals and admirals.	,, p. 15	'Ch.' *; 'W. M.' *
102	Nov. 26, 1759	Debate on state of army.	,, p. 45	'H. C.' XII, x, 254; 'P. H.'; 'W. M.'
103	Dec., 1759	Debate on special grants to Prince Ferdinand and others.	,, p. 32	'W. M.'
104	Dec. 17, 1759	Subsidy of £670,000 to Prussia.	,, p. 78	'P. H.'; Ruville, ii, 305; Schaefer, iii, 572.
105	March 15, April 15, 1760	Scotch Militia Bill.	,, p. 41	'Add.' 32904, f. 392; 'The Border Elliots,' 360; Torrens, ii, 543; 'W. M.'
106	April 21, 1760	Bill for M.P.'s to swear to qualifications.	,, p. 61	'Add.' 32905, ff. 14, 70, 246; Torrens, ii, 545 'W. M.'
107	April 25, May 8, 1760	Debates on extending English Militia Act.	,, p. 41	'Add.' 32905, ff. 105, 339.
108	Nov. 18, 1760	King's Speech and Address.	,, p. 68	Climenson, ii, 220; 'W. M.'; 'P. H.'
109	Dec. 22, 1760	Prussian subsidy.	,, p. 68	'Bed.'
110	Nov. 13, 1761	Debate on the Address.	,, p. 130	'Ch.'; 'H. C.' IX, iii 17a; 'P. H.'; Schaefer, ii[2], 742; Waddington, iv, 616; 'W. M.'
111	Dec. 9, 1761	Debate on £1,000,000 to foreign troops.	,, p. 132	'Ch.'; Rockingham, 'Memoirs,' i, 73; Schaefer, ii[2], 744; 'W. C.'; 'W. M.'
112	Dec. 11, 1761	Motion for Spanish papers.	,, p. 133	Almon *; 'Ch.'; 'Ch. MSS.' 70 (Caldwell); Grafton, 36; 'P. H.' *; Rockingham, 'Memoirs,' i, 80; Thackeray; 'W. M.'
113	Jan. 19, 1762	King's message on war with Spain and Address.	,, p. 135	'P. H.'; 'W. M.'
114	May 12, 1762	Vote of Credit for Portugal.	,, p. 138	Almon *; 'Ch.'; 'P. H.'; Thackeray *; 'W. M.'

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No.	Date.	Subject.	Reference in Text.	Authorities, &c.
115	Dec. 9, 1762	Debate on Preliminaries.	Vol. ii, p. 146	'Aff. Etr.' 448, ff. 252, 305; Almon *; 'H. C.' I, App. pp. 56, 57; 'P. H.' *; Schaefer, ii[2], 643; Thackeray *; 'W. M.'
116	March 4, 1763	In committee, vote for land forces.	,, p. 153	'Bed.'; 'P. H.'; 'W. M.'
117	March 7, 1763	Introduction of budget and address *re* half-pay officers.	,, p. 153	'Bed.'; *North Briton*, No. 42; 'W. M.'
118	March 27, 1763	Debate on Cider Bill.	,, p. 154	Almon *; 'P. H.' *; Thackeray *; 'W. M.'
119	Nov. 15, 1763 [1]	Question of Wilkes's privilege.	,, p. 164	'Ch.'; 'Gr.'; 'H. C. XIV, ix, 315; 'P. H.'; Thackeray; 'W. C.'; 'W. M.'
120	Nov. 16, 1763	King's Speech, Address.	,, p. 163	'Ch.'; 'Gr.'; 'W. C.'; 'W. M.'
121	Nov. 23, 24, 1763	Wilkes's libel question.	,, p. 164	Almon *; 'Ch.' 'H. C.' XIV, ix, 315 'P. H.' *; 'W. C.'; 'W. M.'
122	Feb. 13, 14, 1764.	Wilkes's complaint against Wood and others for breach of privilege.	,, p. 166	'Gr.'; 'P. H.'; 'W. C.'; 'W. M.'
123	Feb. 17, 1764	Debate on General Warrants.	,, p. 166	Almon *; 'Gr.'; 'P.H.' *; Thackeray *; 'W. C.'; 'W. M.'
124	Jan. 14, 1766 [2]	Debate on Address.	,, p. 189	Almon *; Bancroft; 'Caldwell Papers,' iii, 59; 'Ch.' *; 'H. C.' IX, iii, p. 21-2; 'P. H.' *; Thackeray *; Timbs; 'W. M.'
125	Jan. 27, 1766	Debate on petition from American colonies against Stamp Act.	,, p. 197	Bancroft; 'Caldwell Papers,' ii, 64; 'H. C.' IX, iii, 22; 'W. M.'
126	Feb. 3, 1766	Conway's five resolutions on America.	,, p. 198	*Amer. Hist. Rev.* xviii, No. 3; Bancroft; 'Gr.'; 'W. M.'

[1] Pitt is not mentioned in *Parliamentary History*.

[2] The accuracy of Walpole's accounts may be tested in this instance: he was in Paris himself but inserted a report in his *Memoirs* from 'authentic notes' of one who was present. These notes correspond closely with Dean's report in the *Chatham Correspondence*, which was admitted to be almost verbatim. A few details omitted by Dean are added by Bancroft from the French Archives, the Report to Rhode Island, and a letter to Penn. Bancroft's original edition gives his authorities for speeches, which are omitted in some of the subsequent editions.

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No.	Date.	Subject.	Reference in Text.	Authorities, &c.
127	Feb. 5, 1766	Conway's Resolutions debated.	Vol. ii, p. 199	Bancroft; 'Gr.'; 'H. C.' IX, iii, 23; Rockingham, i, 309; W. M.'
128	Feb. 7, 1766	Address to enforce Stamp Act, &c.	,, p. 199	'Gr.'; 'H. C.' IX, iii, 23; 'W. M.'
129	Feb. 10, 1766	Presentation of American papers.	,, p. 199	'H. C.' IX, iii, 23.
130	Feb. 21, 1766	Debate in committee on leave to repeal Stamp Act.	,, p. 199	Bancroft; 'Caldwell Papers,' iii, 74; 'Ch.'; 'Gr.'; 'P. H.' (misdated); 'W. M.'
131	March 4, 1766	Third reading of Declaratory Bill and Stamp Act Repeal Bill.	,, pp. 201, 204	Bancroft, 'Caldwell Papers,' iii, 77; 'Ch.' II, 377 (Hamilton's letter is obviously misdated and refers to this debate); 'H. C.' IX, iii, 23; *ibid.* XIV, ix, 298; Ruville, iii, 175; 'W. M.'
132	March 7, 1766	Proposal for altering cider tax.	,, p. 202	'Ch.'; 'P. H.'
133	April 17, 1766	Expenses of militia.	,, p. 203	'Ch.'; 'H. C.' XIV, ix, 299; Rockingham, i, 318; 'W. M.'
134	April 22, 25, 1766	Debates on General Warrants.	,, p. 203	'H. C.' IX, iii, 23; 'P. H.'; Rockingham, i, 324; 'W. M.'
135	April 24, 1766	Free port for Dominica.	,, p. 183	Newcastle, 'Letters on Changes in Ministry,' 58–9; 'Bed.'; 'Commons' Journals'; 'H. C.' IX, iii, 24; 'H. C.' XIV, ix, 299; 'W. M.'

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House of Lords.

No.	Date.	Subject.	Reference in Text.	Authorities, &c.
136	Nov. 11, 1766	King's Speech and Address.	Vol. ii, p. 227	'Ch.'*; 'H. C.' IX, iii, 25; 'P. H.'; Thackeray*; 'W. C.'; 'W. M.'
137	Dec. 10, 1766	Indemnity Bill for embargo.	„ p. 228	'Aff. Etr.' 471, f. 420; Cavendish, 'Debates,' i, 596; 'Gr.'; 'P. H.'; 'W. M.'
138	Jan. 9, 1770.	King's Speech and Address.	„ p. 258 and note on p. 261	'Aff. Etr.' 490, ff. 32, 37, 62; Almon (Francis)*; Bancroft; 'Ch.'*; Grattan, 'Memoirs,' i, 230; 'Mass. Hist. Soc.' (6th ser.), ix, 397; Cradock, 'Memoirs'; 'P. H.'; Thackeray*; 'W. C.'; 'W. M.'
139	Jan. 22, 1770	Lord Rockingham's motion on the state of the nation.	„ p. 268	'Aff. Etr.' 490, f. 152; Almon (Francis)*; Bancroft*; 'Ch.'*; 'P. H.'*; Thackeray*; 'W. C.'; 'W. M.'
140	Feb. 2, 1770	Committee on state of the nation.	„ p. 268	'Aff. Etr.' 490, f. 204; Almon (Francis)*; 'Ch.'*; 'Lords' Protests'; 'P. H.'*; Parkes and Merivale, i, 390-3 (for a different version of Francis); Thackeray*; 'W. M.'
141	Feb. 12, 1770	Resolution on capacity for election.	„ p. 268	'Lords' Journals'; 'W. M.'
142	March 2, 1770[1]	Lord Craven's motion for adding 2,000 men to the navy.	„ p. 268	'Aff. Etr.' 491, ff. 2, 14, 166; Almon (Francis)*; 'W. M.'; Bancroft; 'Ch.'*; Mahon, v, App. xli; 'P. H.'*
143	March 14, 1770	Debate on state of Civil List.	„ pp. 268, 270	'Aff. Etr.' 491, f. 187; Almon (Francis)*; 'Ch.'*; 'Gr.' iv, 506; 'P. H.'*; Thackeray*; 'W. M.'
144	April 5, 1770	Grenville's bill regarding controverted elections.	„ p. 268	Almon*; 'Ch.'; 'P. H.'*; Thackeray*; 'W. M.'

[1] Almon and Chatham have additional matter not found in *Parliamentary History*, probably given to Almon in 1792 by Francis.

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No.	Date.	Subject.	Reference in Text.	Authorities, &c.
145	May 1, 1770	Lord Chatham's bill for reversing adjudications of House of Commons against Mr. Wilkes.	Vol. ii, p. 268	'Aff. Etr.' 492, ff. 2, 6, 20; Almon (Francis)*; 'Ch.'*; 'Lords' Protests'; 'P. H.'; Thackeray*; 'W. M.'
146	May 4, 1770	Motion against King's answer to City remonstrance.	,, pp. 268, 281	'Aff. Etr.' 492, f. 20; Almon (Francis)*; 'Ch.'*; 'P. H.*; Thackeray*; 'W. M.'
147	May 14, 1770	Motion to address King for a dissolution.	,, p. 268	Almon; 'Ch.'; 'P. H.'; Rockingham, ii, 180; Thackeray; 'W. M.'
148	Nov. 22, 1770[1]	Duke of Richmond's motion for papers *re* Falkland Islands.	,, pp. 272–3 & Vol. i, 303	'Aff. Etr.' 494, ff. 158, 178; Almon (Francis)*; 'Ch.'*; 'P. H.'*; Thackeray*; 'W. C.'; 'W. M.'
149	Nov. 28, 1770	Lord Chatham's motion *re* Falkland Islands.	,, p. 273	'Ch.'; 'W. M.'
150	Dec. 5, 1770	Lord Chatham's motion *re* capacity for election to Parliament.	,, p. 276	Almon*; 'Ch.' (Francis)§ Grattan, 'Memoirs,' i, 169; 'P. H.'§; Thackeray*; 'W. M.'
151	Dec. 10, 1770	(i) On Lord Mansfield's judgments in the Woodfall case. (ii) On Duke of Manchester's motion on state of the nation.	,, p. 276	Almon (Francis)*; 'Ch.' (two versions); Grattan, 'Memoirs,' i, 170; 'Lords' Protests'; 'P. H.'*; Thackeray*; 'W. M.'
152	Dec. 11, 1770	(i) Lord Camden's Interrogatories to Lord Mansfield. (ii) Duke of Manchester's motion *re* troops to Gibraltar, Jamaica, and Minorca.	,, p. 276	Almon*; 'Ch.'*; 'P. H.'*; 'W. M.'
153	Jan. 25, 1771	Motions for papers relating to Falkland Islands.	,, p. 273	'Aff. Etr.' 495, ff. 118, 136; Almon*; 'Ch.'*; 'Corr. de Mdme du Deffand,' i, 340; 'P. H.'; 'W. M.'
154	Feb. 5, 1771	Questions regarding the Falkland Islands to be submitted to judges.	,, p. 273	'Aff. Etr.' 495, f. 146; Almon; 'Ch.'; 'W. M.'
155	Feb. 8, 1771	Motion for Captain Hunt's instructions.	,, p. 273	'W. M.'
156	Feb. 11, 1771	Motion to remit pressing.	,, p. 273	'W. M.'

[1] Francis in his *Autobiography* says he wrote down this speech from memory and had it published within a few days (Parkes and Merivale, i, 363).

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No.	Date.	Subject.	References in Text.	Authorities, &c.
157	Feb. 14, 1771	Address on Spanish Declaration.	Vol. ii, p. 273	'Aff. Etr.' 495, ff. 218, 225; Almon; 'Lords' Protests'; 'P. H.'
158	April 30, 1771	Motion to rescind resolution of Feb. 2, 1770.	„ p. 277	Almon (*Public Advertiser*)*; 'Ch.' §; 'P. H.' §; Thackeray*; 'W. M.'
159	May 1, 1771	Chatham's motion for a dissolution.	„ p. 277	Almon*; 'Ch.' (*Public Advertiser*); 'P. H.' (*Pol. Reg.* and *Gent.'s Mag.*); Thackeray*; 'W. M.'
160	May 19, 1772 [1]	Dissenters Bill.	„ p. 295	'Aff. Etr.' 499, f. 339; 'Ch.'; 'Ch. MSS.' 53, (Dr. Price); 'P. H.'*; Thackeray*; 'W. M.'
161	May 26, 1774	Bill for quartering and regulating troops in America.	„ p. 298	'Aff. Etr.' 505, f. 246; Almon*; 'Ch.'*; 'P. H.'; Rockingham, ii, 264; Ruville, iii, 278; Thackeray*; 'W. C.'; 'W. M.'
162	June 17, 1774	Quebec Bill (amendment from Commons).	„ p. 300	'Aff. Etr.' 505, f. 292; Almon*; 'Ch.'; 'P. H.'; Thackeray*; 'W. M.' Ruville, iii, 281; *A Letter to the E. of Ch. on the Quebec Bill.*
163	Jan. 20, 1775 [2]	Motion to recall troops from Boston.	„ p. 304	'Aff. Etr.' 508, f. 92; Almon* (Boyd); Bancroft; 'Ch.'*; 'H. C.' II, App. p. 29; 'P. H.'; Rijks Archief, 'Cor. Engl. 1775,' 8, 9; Rockingham, ii, 264; Thackeray*; 'W. C.'; 'W. M.'
164	Feb. 1, 1775	Lord Chatham's Provisional Bill for settling American troubles.	„ p. 309	'Aff. Etr.' 508, f. 171; Almon; Bancroft; St. Paul of Ewart, ii, 34; 'Ch.'*; 'P. H.'; Rijks Archief, 'Cor. Engl. 1775,' 13; Rockingham, ii, 268; Thackeray*; 'W. C.'; 'W. M.'

[1] An extract from Burke, quoted in 'Ch' (iv, 220), affords a singular proof of Walpole's accuracy.

[2] A spurious speech, purporting to be Chatham's of this date, was published by Kearsley as a pamphlet. It was withdrawn on Chatham's request ('Ch. MSS.' 47, and 'Aff. Etr.' 508, f. 133), but a copy is still to be seen in the British Museum. Niles, *Principles and Acts of the Revolution*, gives a version of this speech slightly differing from Boyd's and misdates it Dec. 20, 1775. Niles also gives a speech purporting to be from the '*Bristol* (England) *Gazette*, March 24, 1774,' delivered by Chatham on the Declaratory Bill in the House of Lords. This may be a version of his speech in the Commons of March 4, 1766.

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No.	Date.	Subject.	References in Text.	Authorities, &c.
165	May 30, 1777	Motion for stopping hostilities.	Vol. ii, p. 317 and Vol. i, p. 136	Almon*; 'Ch.'*; Hilliard D'Auberteuil, 'Essais,' ii, 93; 'P. H.'; Rijks Archief, 'Cor. Engl. 1777,' 71; Thackeray*; 'W. C.'; 'W. M.'
166	Nov. 20, 1777	Debate on Address.	,, pp. 318, 320	'Aff. Etr.' 526, f. 7 (Stevens, 'Facsimiles,' 1743); Almon (Boyd)*; 'Ch.'*; 'P. H.'; Thackeray*; 'W. M.'
167	Dec. 2, 1777	Duke of Richmond's motion for returns of army and navy in Ireland and America.	,, p. 318	Almon*; 'Ch.'*; 'P. H.'; Rockingham, ii, 324; Thackeray*; 'W. M.'
168	Dec. 5, 1777	Motion for instructions to Burgoyne.	,, p. 318	Almon*; 'Ch.'*; 'P. H.'*; Thackeray*; 'W. C.'; 'W. M.'
169	Dec. 11, 1777	On the adjournment of the House.	,, p. 318	'Aff. Etr.' 526, f. 215 (Stevens, 'Facsimiles,' 1772); Almon*; 'Ch.'*; 'P. H.'; Thackeray*; 'W. M.'
170	April 7, 1778	Duke of Richmond's motion for withdrawing from America.	,, p. 329	Almon; 'Ch.'; 'P. H.'; Rijks Archief, 'Cor. Engl. 1778,' 59; Simancas, 7000; Thackeray; 'W. C.'; 'W. M.'; Ruville, III, 340.

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APPENDIX B

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

I. MS. Sources.
II. Printed Books and Newspapers.
III. Contemporary Pamphlets.

[This bibliography is not exhaustive, but may be of some assistance to students of Pitt's life or of the period. A few notes have been added to indicate the information to be obtained from some of the books, &c.]

I. MS. SOURCES.

[The best guides to MS. sources on Pitt in the British Museum and Record Office are those issued by the Carnegie Institute of Washington (prepared by C. M. Andrews and E. S. Davenport, and C. M. Andrews respectively. For the documents in the Paris Archives des Affaires Étrangères see *Inventaire Sommaire des Archives du Dépt. des Aff. Etr.* (Paris, 1903).]

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Carteret Papers. Add. MSS. 22511–22545.
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Egerton MSS. 1952–1960.
Correspondence and Papers of William Warburton.
Hardwicke MSS. Add. MSS. 35349–36278.
Letter Books of Thomas Pitt, Governor of Madras. Add. MSS. 22842–22850.
Letters to Thomas Pitt, Governor of Madras. Add. MSS. 22851, 22852.
Letters of George Jackson, Sec. to Admiralty, 1764–90. Add. MSS. 9344.
A few letters from Pitt.
Letters of Thomas Hollis to W. T. How, 1762–64. Add. MSS. 26889.
Newcastle MSS. Add. MSS. 32679–33201.
Stowe MSS. 263.
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Suffolk Papers. Add. MSS. 22626, 22629.

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PRIVATE COLLECTIONS.

Chevening MSS. (Lord Stanhope).

Some later correspondence, especially with the children.

Egmont MSS.

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Lansdowne House MSS. (Vols. 9, 10, 11, 29, 30, 31, 40, 66, 90, 99, 102, 116, 153 and P. 27).

The contents of the collection are indicated in appendices to Reports III, V, and VI of Hist. MSS. Commission. These MSS. are particularly valuable for the period 1763–78.

Pretyman MSS. (Orwell Park).

Mostly refer to the younger Pitt, but some papers refer to Chatham.

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A memorandum book of the Hon. T. Robinson for the years 1761–68 *has information about Pitt's negotiations during these years. (In Hist. MSS. Commission Report II, p. 8, this is erroneously referred to as 'Copies of Memoranda by Lord Grenville . . .').*

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SOMERSET HOUSE.

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V.	..	Lord Lansdowne.
VI.	..	Lord Lansdowne.
VII.	p. 231.	Lord Leconfield.
VIII.	Part I.	Duke of Marlborough, &c.
IX.	Part III.	Stopford Sackville.
X.	App. i.	Weston Underwood.
XI.	App. vii.	Duke of Leeds (*Holderness Papers*).
	App. ix.	Trevor, Hare, Round.
XII.	App. v.	Duke of Rutland (vol. ii).
	App. ix.	Lord Donoughmore (*Irish events*).
	App. x.	Lord Charlemont, 1745–83.
XIII.	App. iii.	Dropmore (Fortescue) (vol. i).
	App. vii.	Lord Lonsdale.
XIV.	App. i.	Duke of Rutland (vol. iii).
	App. ii.	Duke of Portland (vol. iii), (*Governor Pitt*).
	App. ix.	Lord Buckinghamshire.
	App. x.	Lord Dartmouth.
XV.	App. iv.	Duke of Portland (vol. iv), (*Governor Pitt*).
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[A great many of the pamphlets referring to Pitt are given in the British Museum Catalogue, *s.v. Pitt, William, Earl of Chatham* (Appendix). Watts's *Bibliotheca Britannica* also contains a long list of Pitt Tracts. To these the reader should refer. Of the hundred or more tracts consulted for this book the following, as being among the most important, have been here noted. The specimens here selected are no indication of the number that appeared in any year. The years in which most pamphlets appeared about Pitt are 1756–7, 1759, 1761–3, 1766. The footnotes to the text give the names of many other pamphlets. See especially ch. xvii for pamphlets about peace negotiations, and ch. xviii for pamphlets about Pitt's pension.]

1742. The Case of the Hanover Forces.
Pitt's views, but probably written by Chesterfield and Waller.

1746. A Letter to William Pitt, Esq., concerning the 15 New Regiments.
A friendly expostulation by T. Hervey on Pitt's defence of these regiments.

1756. A New System of Patriot Policy . . . Recantation of British Cicero.
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1757. The Speech of William the 4th to both Houses of P——.

1759. Plain Reasons for Removing a Certain Great Man. By O. M. Haberdasher. London. January 1759.
Pro-Pitt.

„ The English Pericles.
Very laudatory.

1760. A Letter to Two Great Men on the Prospect of Peace. [Dr. Douglas.]
See vol. ii, p. 82.

„ Considerations on Present German War. [I. Mauduit.] Written after the capture of Montreal.
See vol. ii, p. 67.

1763. A View of Mr. Pitt's Administration. [Almon.]
Dedicated to Temple.

„ Political Disquisitions. . . . Letter to a Noble Duke, 1763.
A copy in Chatham MSS.

„ A Defence of the Minority. [C. Townshend.]
See vol. ii, p. 167.

1765. An Appendix to a View of Mr. Pitt's Administration: [Almon.]
Useful comparison of Bute and Pitt's peace terms.

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1765. Considerations on the Propriety of imposing taxes in the British Colonies for the purpose of raising a revenue by Act of Parliament. [Daniel Dulany of Maryland. Annapolis, 1765.]
See vol. ii, pp. 182, 191, 197.

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Useful for Temple's view of politics, 1760–6. *See vol. ii, p.* 159.

1766. An Enquiry into the Conduct of a late Rt. Hon. Commoner. [H. Cotes.]
Inspired by Temple. See vol. ii, p. 209.

„ A Short View of the Political Life of a Late Rt. Hon. Commoner.
An Answer to the last. See vol. ii, p. 209.

„ A letter from William, Earl of Bath, in the Shades; to William, Earl of Chatham, at Court.
On the peerage.

„ An Examination of the Principles and boasted Disinterestedness of a Late Rt. Hon. Gentleman.
Gives Temple's views on Ministry. See vol. ii, p. 209.

„ A Genuine Collection of . . . Pieces.
All referring to Chatham's peerage. See vol. ii, p. 213.

„ Supplément au Ministère de Mr. Pitt avec Récapitulation, &c., jusqu'au 30 juillet, 1766. Par le Colonel Chevalier de Champigny. Cologne, 1766.
First part is a translation of 'An Appendix, &c.' Gives good account of troubles in America.

„ An Enquiry into the Abilities of Two Great Personages.
Copy in Chatham MSS.

„ Mr. Appleton's Sermon on . . . Repeal of the Stamp Act. Boston, 1766.
Copy in Chatham MSS. See vol. ii, p. 202.

1767. The Trial of England's Cicero on the Four Important Articles of his being an Orator, a Patriot, an Author and a Briton.
Anti-Chatham. Gives quotations of some of his turgid phrases. See vol. ii, p. 148.

1768. The Present State of the Nation.
By W. Knox, helped by Geo. Grenville. On finance chiefly. See vol. ii, p. 49.

1769. Remarks on an Appendix to the Present State of the Nation.
One of a long series of controversial pamphlets provoked by the last; a copy of this in Chatham MSS.

„ Political Conduct of the Earl of Chatham.
On this see Grenville Papers, IV, 468. *A copy of it in Chatham MSS. 'from the authors.'*

1774. A Letter to the Earl of Chatham on the Quebec Bill. [Sir William Meredith.]
See vol. ii, p. 301.

„ A Letter to Sir William Meredith, Bart., in Answer to his late letter to the Earl of Chatham.

1776. Political Tracts (Samuel Johnson), containing The False Alarm, Falkland's Islands, The Patriot, and Taxation no Tyranny.
See vol. ii, p. 273.

1778. Authentic Memoirs of the late Rt. Hon. E. of Chatham [published by J. Denman].

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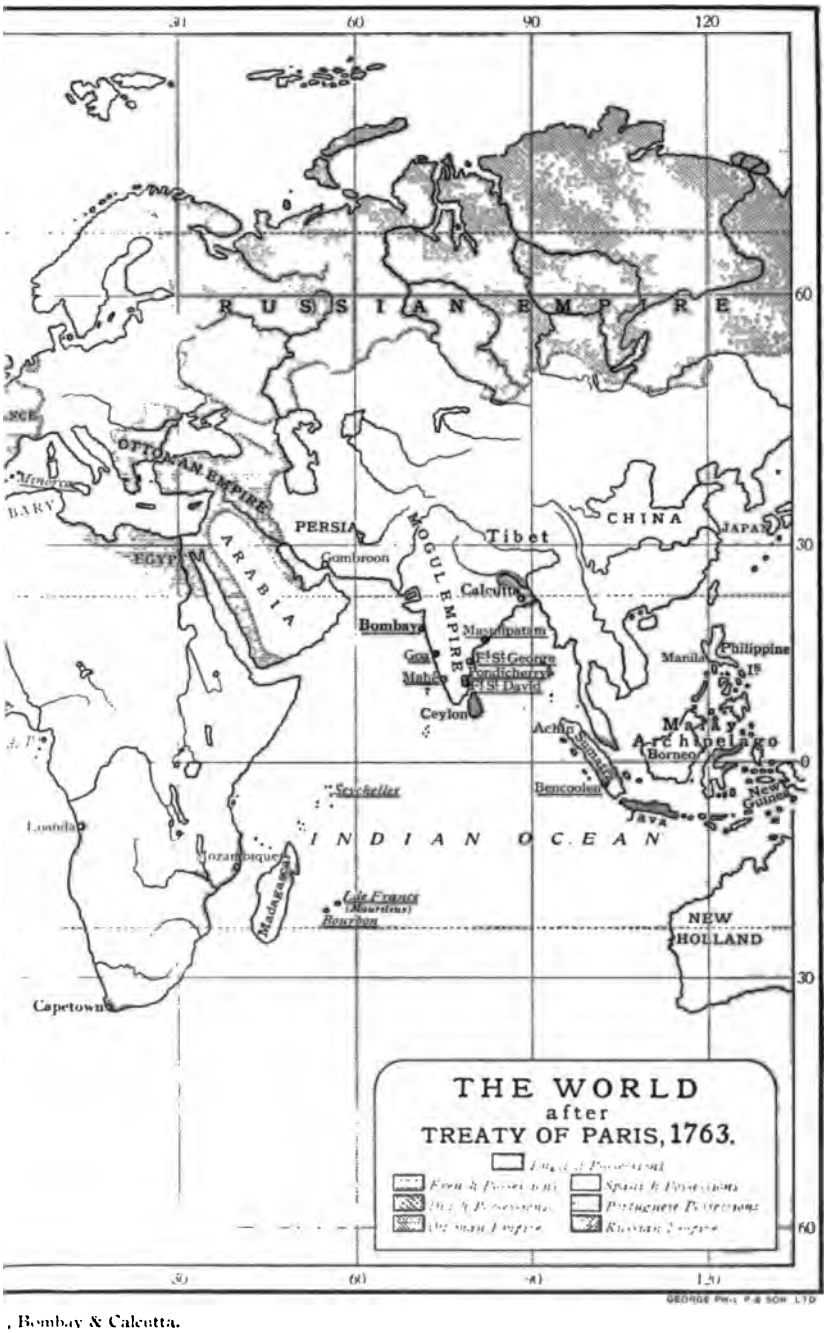

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